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Trial of Albanians in Yugoslavia Reported

AU2302131189 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tirana, February 22 (ATA)—As the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG reports, a court in Pristina conducted on February 20 another trial against 11 Albanian youngsters, under the already known charge "for acting from the positions of Albanian separatism and chauvinism."

This trial is part of the great campaign of sentences, and police persecutions toward the Albanians, which have not been interrupted since 1981 events in Kosovo.

Another news, issued in the newspaper RILINDJA of October 26, 1988, entitled "Almost 500,000 people are investigated by the home affairs organs" quoted the statement of the former regional secretary of home affairs and now chairman of the Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Rahman Morina, which said that "since 1981 until now the Home Affairs Secretariat organs have brought actions against 79,223 people and issued writs of denunciation against 93,030 persons, whereas such measures as remand into custody, arrests, deprivation of freedom, and summons by home affairs organs are adopted against 314,120 others."

Another news of RILINDJA, issued on November 6, 1988, referring to the data of Regional Home Affairs Secretariat of Kosovo, within 1986-1987 and the first half of 1988, different sentences were passed on 182,776 Albanians.

Soviet 'Invaders' Withdraw From Afghanistan

AU1702133489 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 17 Feb 89

["The End of an Occupation—Article by the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, February 17 (ATA)—The newspapers ZERI I POPULLIT and BASHKIMI devote special articles to the Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan. The ZERI I POPULLIT article, under the said title, written by the reporter of this organ, Arben Karapici, stresses among others:

The forced withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan marks the failure of the Soviet military invasion and of the aggressive policy in this country. The main factor that forced the invaders to withdraw from what the Soviet troops called the "Afghan hell," is the people's armed struggle. Hence we have to do with a victory of the Afghan people, that have fought so long for their freedom and independence.

The Afghan people waged an armed and heroic 9 years old struggle which claimed the Soviet Union 15 thousand of killed soldiers and officers, 37 thousands wounded, and an economic damage worth billions of rubles. The Soviet social imperialists made all efforts and resorted to all means to dictate the occupation of Afghanistan. They sent there numerous and selected military forces, the most modern arms and lethal poisons. They also used the tactics of the "burnt land" and the chemical weapons they possessed. All these failed in the face of the struggle of the Afghan people.

A whole people fought, not only arms in hand, but also coped with Moscow's machinations and diplomatic pressures, which demanded "the political solution" of the situation in Afghanistan. The Afghan people faced the superiority and savagery of the aggression with their lofty patriotism, their unshakeable will and that freedom loving spirit characteristic to fight and win, without taking into consideration any sacrifice.

The Soviet forced withdrawal from Afghanistan was made in the conditions when the aggression had made the Soviet Union ever more isolated and discriminated on the international arena, when the freedom-loving peoples and progressive forces have incessantly condemned Afghanistan's occupation. The political isolation and discredit of Moscow, was also very great within the country by the pressure of the broad masses of the Soviet people.

The forced withdrawal of all the Soviet troops, the article stresses in conclusion, is a victory not only of the Afghan people, but also of all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples fighting for national and social liberation. It is a victory against the imperialist policy of aggression and occupations.

On its part, the newspaper BASHKIMI points out among others in its article that the sophisticated Soviet military machine proved to be very inert in the face of the struggle of the Afghan people. Under the conditions of growing difficulties at home, in the conditions of the lack of the necessary financial means, "perestroyka" is in need of, the Kremlin tactics failed. Faced with the Afghan volcano, the Soviet social imperialists had but to withdraw shamefully, without attaining any result they aspired to, which is also the logic end of every aggression.

Jakes Discusses Restructuring, Democratization

LD2002202589 Prague CTK in English
1840 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes told a meeting of the party city committee in Prague today that experience confirms that the course of restructuring and democratization receives broad support in the party and the public.

Naturally restructuring, as a major change in the life of society, also gives rise to questions, such as whether what we are striving for is in harmony with our socialist ideals and aims. "It should be stated that our position is absolutely clear in this: The real values of socialism must not be, and are not being, weakened and negated but, on the contrary, socialism is being strengthened by way of using all its advantages and developing its humanistic essence in order to promote the material and cultural standard of people's lives."

The situation is complicated by the fact that certain forces are trying to misuse restructuring, mistakes and shortcomings to compromise socialism, destabilize the Czechoslovak socialist system, cast doubts on the role of the party and the results achieved during the socialist construction. It must be expected that this will continue in the future. "We must aim at winning over all upright people, including those who have taken a wait-and-see attitude or are mistaken, for the policy of restructuring and democratization... at the same time it is necessary to take resolute action against all those pursuing aims alien to socialism and to the interests of our people", the general secretary pointed out.

Speaking about the foreign political aspects of Czechoslovakia's internal development he stressed that an important role should be played in this by a meeting of the supreme party leaders of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member states, which is to take place in Prague.

Important conclusions for economic cooperation, especially in the next five-year plan period (1991-1995), were produced by the visit of Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec to the Soviet Union, his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev and talks with Nikolay Ryzhkov, Milos Jakes pointed out.

Jakes Views Restructuring at Prague Rally

LD2302223689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2030 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Workers and young people in Prague, Bratislava, and other places in our Republic convened for rallies today marking the 41st anniversary of the February victory. [passage omitted]

After the rally in Prague, Comrade Milos Jakes and other party and state representatives exchanged cordial greetings with members of the People's Militia and participants in the rally. An open and informal conversation developed, beginning with people giving their impressions of the rally and stressing the need to step up political work among the people and also the fact that what is needed everywhere is honest work. A lively discussion ensued, in particular on the progress of restructuring. One of the participants in the discussion pointed out certain problems in setting up the new production infrastructure with the establishment of state enterprises and newly emerging superfluous segments of management and decisionmaking.

Comrade Jakes pointed out that the whole point of restructuring is, on the contrary, to get rid of the superfluous segments and to arrange the internal organization of enterprises in such a way that the administrative content is reduced. Decisionmaking has to be linked as closely as possibly to the production sector.

In response to a comment that restructuring is progressing too slowly, Comrade Jakes stressed that the implementation of many measures has been speeded up, but that the democratic resolution of problems also takes a certain amount of time because they have to be discussed with the working people, because the working people have to be given the chance to express their views and to take part in the decisionmaking process, and because hundreds of thousands of people have to be given the chance to join the process of shaping policy and the law.

Threats Made Before Rally

LD2402092989 Prague CTK in English
0721 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—RUDE PRAVO said today that anonymous calls and threats had been made during the preparations for Thursday's [23 February] rally marking the 41st anniversary of the February 1948 events in Prague "by those for whom this rally was a thorn in the side."

The threats were empty, but nevertheless a provocateur threw a tear gas bomb among the participants in Old Town Square. This act of hooliganism had no serious consequences, the paper said.

Knotek Demands 'Immediate' Gabcikovo Changes

AU2202165389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
21 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Party-Economic Control Day at the Hydroelectric Scheme on the Danube; Big Project Deserves Big Attention"]

[Excerpts] Gabcikovo—Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, yesterday [20 February] demanded at the party-economic control day at the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric scheme an immediate change at all levels—beginning with a foreman and chief assembler and ending with a minister—in the approach toward the project's problems. He also stressed the need to realize on time and with good quality a package of measures aimed at minimalizing the effects of the construction work and the operation of the plan on the ecology and the natural environment in the region. [passage omitted]

Ivan Knotek particularly reminded all the ministries, national committees, and scientific institutions of their duty to do all they can to preserve the area's ecological systems and to preserve Danube River Basin as an area for rest and recreation. The federal government and the Government of the Slovak SR fully support all sensible proposals to resolve these issues.The discussion that followed affirmed that shortcomings in supplier-user relations are also this year the subject of many disputes among organizations directly or indirectly participating in the project. [passage omitted]

Johanes Receives U.S. Ambassador to Prague

LD2302004889 Prague CTK in English 1719 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received here Tuesday [21 February] U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovak Julian M. Niemczyk.

The two representatives discussed bilateral relations and international topics.

17 Feb CPCZ Presidium Session Detailed

AU2002195189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Feb 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Report From the Meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; Course of the Preparations for the New CSSR Constitution Discussed; Topical Tasks of Restructuring and Democratization for 1989 Debated"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed at its Friday [17 February] meeting a report on the progress and outcome of the working visit by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz to the CSSR and appraised its contribution to furthering CSSR-Hungarian relations. This statement is published separately.

The Presidium discussed the course of preparations up to the present for the political and legal principles of the new CSSR constitution.

It decided to send a CPCZ delegation, headed by Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, to the 18th PCI [Italian Communist Party] Congress which is to take place from 17 to 24 March.

The Presidium agreed that Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, should pay a friendly working visit to the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the PRK, and a state visit to the Republic of India. The visit to Southeast Asia is to take place from 5 to 12 April.

It noted the report on the outcome of the working visit to the USSR by Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, and a report on the visit by a delegation from the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission to Romania, headed by Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission.

The Presidium debated the topical tasks of restructuring and democratization for 1989 and the preparations for the celebration of the 41st anniversary of the February victory of the Czechoslovak working people.

Dailies Survey History of Havel's Attitudes

LD2302111989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 23 Feb 89

[From the press review]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA carry an editorial entitled "Who is Vaclav Havel?" which points out the social roots of Havel's political activity and its aims, with regard to a number of new facts.

The article says that the name Havel formed an inseparable part of the political scene in our country already in the twenties, thirties, and the forties. Two brothers, Milos and Vaclav, owned a large amount of liquid and nonliquid assets. A rich miller, a building contractor, an owner of Lucerna, and of film studios, and so on—these were the family roots of Vaclav Havel, Jr.

The political changes of the postwar map of the Republic after 1945 and 1948 completely changed his social situation. They also influenced the philosophy of this life. The representative of the new generations of Havels embarked on an ambitious political path in the sixties. He declared his holy war against the socialist state.

The article in RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA then analyzes in depth Vaclav Havel, Jr's family ancestors. For example, his grandfather Eng Hugo (?Vavrecka) was an economist and politician of the pre-Munich Republic. Munich and its consequent events found him working for the factory owner Bata. What we know of him, above all, is that his relations with the Nazis in power were good. He rendered them more than one service, as is shown by the number of documents in the archives of the Svit Gottwaldov national enterprise.

Eng Vaclav Havel, Sr and his slightly younger uncle Milos Havel were among the influential men of the Czechoslovak capitalist world at the time of the turn of the thirties and the forties.

The RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA editorial then details the biography of Vaclav Havel. After the liberation his life was still pretty comfortable. Only in 1948 did the Havel family's life begin to change. Young Vaclav was trained as a laboratory technician, he finished his evening course at a grammar school and after an unsuccessful attempt at admission to an arts university course, he was admitted to the Czech Technical University. As he was not interested in the course he was only there for a short time. He did 2 years of military service, and after his return to civilian life, he then started to work as a prop man in the ABC Theater. Then he worked in the Theater Na Zabradli for 8 years as a stage technician, repertory adviser, and writer. At that time he started to publish.

In the beginning of 1968, Havel felt that his time had come. In a short while he was present at the birth of the so-called club of involved nonparty members [klub angazovanych nestraniku], which in the following months became an opposition political party. August 1968 cut some of his plans short. Nevertheless, in November 1968, the journal TVAR began to be published under Havel's patronage, again full of attacks against the socialist state.

From the 2d half of the seventies his name started to appear again in resolutions and statements. He organized illegal groups, and wrote and edited various pamphlets. At the end of 1976 he was one of the main authors of the first pamphlet of the Charter, in which 242 signatories appointed themselves as monitors of the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act's provisions in our country.

In connection with this and other incitant activity, Vaclav Havel was punished several times.

Many of Havel's program targets are of a general humanistic character: democracy, freedom, the protection of the environment, national sovereignty. But the essential factor is diametrically different: breaking up the existing political structures, the atomization of trade unions and other bodies, the restoration of private ownership relations, the rejection of the leading role of the working class and of the class conception of social development as such, and so on. In his view it is a good thing if new economic problems arise; it suits him when there are clashes during unauthorized demonstrations; it is fine if there is tension. He draws his inspiration from the first republic, the pre-Munich political regime. All in all, it is a program which can be called an act of revenge for the February events of 1948, says the editorial conclusion in today's RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA.

Stiffer Sentences for Breach of Order Set

AU1702152689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Feb 89 p 1

["CTK, zr"-signed report: "Legal Measures To Protect Public Order Approved; Decision by the Presidium of the CSSR Federal Assembly"]

[Text] Prague—**The CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium met in Prague on Tuesday [14 February] with Alois Indra chairing the session. The session, which was attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, discussed and approved legal measures of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium to protect public order.**

The legal measures of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium of 14 February 1989 to protect public order read as follows:

In the interest of protecting public order, the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium passed a resolution on the following legal measures according to Article 58, paragraph 3 of Constitutional Law No 143 of 1968 of the Czechoslovak federation:

Article I:

In the provisions of paragraph 156, Section A of the Penal Code, the words "6 months" are being replaced by the words "1 year."

Article II:

The provisions of paragraph 6 of Law No 150 of 1969 on Lesser Offenses [preciny] are being changed and amended as follows:

1. The words "3 months" are being replaced by the words "6 months";

2. The sum "Kcs5,000" is being replaced by the sum "Kcs20,000";

3. The provisions under letter B are to be followed by the following provisions under letter C:

"c) he who produces, enables the production, or disseminates printed matter which by its contents violates the interest of the socialist state in the preservation of public order."

Article III:

These legal measures take effect on the day of their promulgation.

Husak, signed by his own hand;

Indra, signed by his own hand;

Adamec, signed by his own hand.

Following the adoption of these legal measures, the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium stressed that the specific implementation of the policy of the CPCZ and the National Front in everyday life is crucial for the positive social development of our country and for the creation of conditions for our citizens' creative and peaceful work.

Alois Indra then told the Presidium that in a letter dated 27 January 1989 Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the State Defense Council, submitted a report, in accordance with constitutional Law No 10 of 1969, on measures on reducing the number of persons and armaments and on organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army. At the same time he recommended that the defense and security committees of both chambers of the Federal Assembly be notified of this decision in the presence of the CSSR minister of national defense.

The Presidium of the CSSR Federal Assembly heard and acknowledged a report by the chairmen of the two chambers on the resignations of some Federal Assembly deputies. These resignations had been discussed earlier in the day by the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations Presidiums.

In connection with these resignations it announced, in keeping with the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation and the Law on Elections to the Federal Assembly, by-elections to the People's Chamber in electoral district No 66 (Teplice-West) and by-elections to the Chamber of Nations in electoral districts No 15 (Mlada Boleslav), No 24 (Domazlice-Klatovy), No 53 (Hodonin), No 62 (Ostrava I), No 66 (Trinec), No 68 (Havirov), and No 92 (Nitra). The Federal Assembly Presidium decided that all these by-elections will be held on Thursday, 20 April 1989.

The following deputies surrendered their seats, all of them for reasons of long-term work assignments abroad: Vratislav Vajnar, Miloslav Blahnik, Vlastimil Ehrenberger, Ladislav Gerle, Josef Havlin, Eduard Saul, Miloslav Zika, and Peter Colotka. The mandates of these deputies become null and void according to Article 48, Section 2 of Law No 44 of 1971 on Elections to the Federal Assembly.

The same day the Presidiums of the CSSR Federal Assembly's People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations dealt with preparations for the chambers' separate meetings. The third separate meeting of the People's Chamber in October 1989 will discuss a report on the implementation of the law on state enterprises and its impact on the fulfillment of the tasks of the state plan for national economic development. The fifth separate meeting of the Chamber of Nations in October 1989 will deal with the implementation of housing policy. It will assess the current system for the preparation, realization, and renewal of the housing stock, infrastructure, and amenities.

The chambers' Presidiums also discussed measures to deepen the public's access to information on the work of deputies and agencies of the CSSR Federal Assembly. The purpose of these measures is the full application of the Leninist principle of the open provision of information by the press, radio, and television on all aspects of the activity of the supreme representative body and its deputies, especially on the discussion of important issues in the committees of the two chambers.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 16 February on page 2 carries a 100-word CTK correction to the aforementioned report on the Federal Assembly Presidium session. The correction notes that the list of deputies who have surrendered their seats "for reasons of long-term work assignment abroad" should also include "Viliam Kozik, deputy to the Chamber of Nations" and that by-elections to the Chamber of Nations in Kozik's electoral district—No 118 (Ilava)—will be held on 20 April]

Measures Against Public Disorder Detailed

AU2002084589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 89 p 1

[Interview with Zdenek Ceska, chairman of the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber of the CSSR Federal Assembly, by Karel Walter: "In the Interest of Peace and Order, We Discuss the Legal Measures Adopted by the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium"; date, place not given]

[Text] As we reported yesterday, the Presidium of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium discussed and approved legal measures for the protection of public order at its Tuesday [14 February] meeting. We asked Academician Zdenek Ceska, the chairman of the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber of the CSSR Federal Assembly, for more detailed information on the intention of this decision.

[Walter] Obviously, to some readers the difference between the law and legal measures will not be clear.

[Ceska] During the period when the CSSR Federal Assembly is not in session, the Federal Assembly Presidium fulfills, in harmony with Article No 58 of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, its appropriate function. In addition to other things, it is entitled to take urgent steps, for which a law would be necessary, in the form of legal measures. A legal measure adopted by the Federal Assembly Presidium is a generally binding legal regulation that has the legal force of the law. It must be approved at the next meeting of the Federal Assembly, or otherwise it ceases to be valid.

[Walter] When in practice does the CSSR Federal Assembly come around to adopting a legal measure?

[Ceska] Considering that the Federal Assembly as a whole is not to the full extent of its function a constantly functioning organ, the adoption of a legal measure is sometimes a necessary form of the implementation of the legislative authority of the highest organ of CSSR state power. A recent example is the legal measure adopted by the Federal Assembly Presidium last September by which law No 93/1951 in the SBIRKA ZAKONU [LEGAL GAZETTE] on the national day, public holidays, and memorable days and days of special importance was changed and supplemented. By this legal measure 28 October was proclaimed the CSSR national day and at the same time a public holiday.

[Walter] Why was it necessary to increase sanctions for infringements of public order?

[Ceska] During discussions on the report by the CSSR general prosecutor and the CSSR Supreme Court on the state of socialist legality in the 2d half of last year, the appropriate committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations and also the Federal Assembly Presidium debated, among other things, the protection of the rights and legitimate interests of citizens, their security, and the state of public order at the present stage of the development of society.

In this connection the need was emphasized for the adoption of more effective measures to improve the state of public order with the aim of preventing any kind of acts of an antistate and antisocialist nature, as well as vandalism, hooliganism, and violent acts.

This knowledge was confirmed by the recent repeated demonstrations by antisocialist groups, which to an increased degree disrupted public order and the security of citizens right in the center of Prague.

At the same time, in consideration of the justified demands of the public, contained in suggestions sent to organs of the Federal Assembly and demanding the increased protection of public order, the Presidium of the Federal Assembly according to Article 58 of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation resolved to promulgate the aforementioned legal measure on the protection of public order.

[Walter] Could you explain in more detail the individual changes?

[Ceska] The changes concern the penal code and law No 150/1969 in the SBIRKA ZAKONU on minor offenses, as far as its provisions modifying the course of action taken against behavior in contravention of public order are concerned. The essence of the changes is an increase in the upper limit of prison terms while at the same time increasing the effectiveness of fines.

For the offense of impeding a public official in executing his legal powers, according to paragraph 156, Section A of the Penal Code, it was only possible until now to hand down a sentence of not more than 6 months in prison, in spite of the fact that by such behavior the authority of a public official while ensuring public order can be disrupted or made impossible to a substantial degree. The level of punishment was hitherto inappropriate even in comparison to the other criminal offenses against the authority of a public official. Therefore, here the upper limit of the sentence was increased to 1 year.

As for the law on minor offenses, the provisions of paragraph 6 on minor offenses against public order hitherto provided for imprisonment of up to 3 months or for a fine of up to Kcs5,000. In the light of the interest that is protected by these provisions, the upper limits have been raised to 6 months in prison and Kcs20,000. The purpose of this amendment is therefore to strengthen preventive influence and the general effectiveness of the fine.

The Czechoslovak legal order has until now not contained any provision on the basis of which it would be possible to impose a punishment for the production or dissemination of printed materials that by their contents violate the state's interest in the maintenance of public order. At the same time we have to keep in mind that such conduct is socially as dangerous as the other actions mentioned in paragraph 6 of the law on minor offenses. In view of the fact that the number of instances of such conduct has recently increased, it was necessary to amend the law on minor offenses in this respect. Those actions that, moreover, meet the criteria of a criminal offense will continue to be treated according to the provisions of the penal code.

[Walter] Thank you for the interview.

Consulate General Reopens in Shanghai

LD2102212389 Prague CTK in English
1343 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Shanghai Feb 21 (CTK correspondent)—The Czechoslovak Consulate General in Shanghai resumed activity after 25 years today under a March 1987 agreement. China will be able to open its consulate general in Bratislava.

The ceremony in Shanghai was attended by Czechoslovak Ambassador Eduard Saul. [passage omitted]

Cooperation Agreement Signed With SFRY Firm

AU2002180089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
17 Feb 89 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Representatives of the Petrimex foreign trade organization signed two agreements on cooperation in the production of industrial fertilizers with the Yugoslav partners in Belgrade on Thursday [16 February]. The value of the concluded contracts is $15 million. The Duslo Sala production enterprise will take part in the cooperation on the Czechoslovak side. These are the first large cooperation agreements between the CSSR and SFRY in the nonengineering sector.

First 1,000-Megawatt Nuclear Reactor Tested

AU2202170189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
20 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report: "The First 1,000-Megawatt Reactor After the Pressure Test"]

[Text] Plzen—The workers and technicians collective of the "Reactors" manufacturing plant at the Plzen Skoda factory has successfully completed a pressure test on the vessel and lid of the first Czechoslovak nuclear reactor of the VVER 1,000 type. Control measurements on the steel colossus confirmed that these parts of the first 1,000-megawatt reactor were qualitatively manufactured.

On Friday [17 February] the working crew raised the unique weldment, with a diameter of 5.3 meters, a length of 13 meters, and a mass of 350 tonnes, from the testing shaft, and on Saturday further control and measuring operations continued.

Also, there will occur in turn ultrasonic and capillary methods which will check whether there are cracks or other defects in the welded anticorrosion layer or in the basic material.

Work on the first vessel of the VVER 1,000 light-water reactor has thereby reached the final phase. Toward the end of March the finished piece will begin being shipped to the Belene nuclear power station in Bulgaria.

'Hints' in Berlin of CEMA 'Difficulties'

LD2402093689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0452 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin, February 24 (TANJUG)—For the first time, there have been public hints in Berlin that cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is meeting with difficulties and that new forms of cooperation are being sought within this economic group.

GDR economic experts warn that the structure of exports and imports within the community has changed in recent years and that this trend, adverse to the German Democratic Republic, is continuing. They point to the fact that a new law on foreign trade is soon going into effect in the Soviet Union and that its practical aspects are still unknown. This may have far-reaching repercussions in the GDR, whose largest trading partner the Soviet Union is.

Pointing cautiously to these problems, the daily BERLINER ZEITUNG writes that the GDR's foreign trade "is facing a new test," noting that an expansion and profitability of exports "are of vital importance to the German Democratic Republic."

The GDR's foreign trade has been on constant rise in recent years to reach 177 billion foreign currency marks in 1988. Of it, two-thirds were accounted for by the CMEA countries, above all the Soviet Union, and one third by Western Europe and the non-European countries. This appears to be the upper limit which it would be hard to exceed, the more so as cooperation with the CMEA partners on the hitherto foundations has been called in question.

Festive Meeting Opens Brotherhood-in-Arms Week

AU2302222689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Rainer Funke report: "Brotherhood-in-Arms Week Opens in Karl-Marx-Stadt"]

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt—The traditional brotherhood-in-arms week, which has been observed for more than 2 decades between the anniversaries of the Soviet Army on 23 February and the National People's Army on 1 March, was opened with a festive meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt on Friday [17 February].

Working people, members of the National People's Army, of the GDR Border Troops, and of the other defense and security organs, Soviet soldiers, as well as FDJ members and members of the Sports and Technology Society conveyed cordial greetings to SED Central Committee Politburo members Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of National Defense, and Siegfried Lorenz, first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk SED leadership, as well as to Army General Boris Snetkov, supreme commander of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

After the GDR and USSR national anthems were played, Siegfried Lorenz opened the meeting, which initiates the week of numerous friendly meetings with Soviet soldiers throughout the country. He said that 140 years ago, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels recognized in the young workers class and its revolutionary movement a social power which, by fulfilling its historic mission, will increasingly be in a position to demand peace, even if others cry for war. Now that for the first time in the history of mankind weapons explode for the purpose of being destroyed, this scientifically founded optimism of Marx and Engels is becoming more of a material force than it has ever been before.

In his speech, Heinz Kessler conveyed the greetings of the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker. The minister spoke about the deep roots of friendship between the citizens of the Soviet Union and those of the German worker-peasant state, as well as about the brotherhood-in-arms between the two countries' soldiers. He said that they reach far back. That is shown by the declaration of the German left under Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg for the young Soviet power, the mass movement, "Hands off Soviet Russia!", the work of young German Communists—such as Erich Honecker in Magnitogorsk—in the Soviet Union in the early thirties, the internationalist fight alongside the Spanish people, and the joint action of German and Soviet Communists against fascism.

Kessler said that as history has shown, German-Soviet friendship is one of the most precious achievements and one of the indispensable bases of existence of the socialist German state which will be celebrating its 40th anniversary this year.

Heinz Kessler stressed that "in our loyalty as friends of the Soviet Union, we will not allow anybody to discourage us, nor will we be diverted from our brotherhood-in-arms and our class brotherhood, least of all by people who have no interest at all in the growth of socialism and the well-being of the working people in towns and villages."

In this respect, the speaker cited as an outstanding example the ensuring of the GDR state border with West Berlin in August 1961 in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. He said that as a preventive warning against any possible provocations or even military adventures by revanchist forces of the FRG or NATO, a security line of several echelons has been deployed: in the first echelon, the units of the works militia, the People's Police, and the border police; in the second echelon, the units of the National People's Army; and in the third, the Soviet Army.

"The reliable ensuring of the GDR state border with West Berlin and the FRG at the time was and now still is in the interest of stable peace in Europe, and in the interest not only of our country but also of our neighbors," Kessler said, adding that it also is a wall against neofascist activities that are alarmingly rampant in the FRG and West Berlin.

Army General Kessler stressed: "Just as we took the necessary security measures in 1961 with the support of our friends, we are now jointly responsible for the military protection of peace and socialism in the center of Europe, and we will continue to share this responsibility as long as this is necessary."

The speaker discussed extensively the recent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states. He stressed in this connection that in view of the fact that NATO sticks to its strategy of deterrence, even though the disarmament and confidence-building process continues to advance successfully, the vigilance and defensive capacity of the socialist states and their armies must always be kept at the required level.

Army General Boris Snetkov in his speech described the relations between the USSR and the GDR as an example of internationalism, indestructible friendship, and fruitful cooperation. He said that they have helped both peoples for decades to resolve important tasks of their development, and are a factor of stability and peace in Europe, as Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker stated during their meeting in Moscow. He said that the members of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany are profoundly aware of their responsibility for the secure protection of the achievements of socialism. He said that in close combat alliance with the GDR soldiers, the Soviet Army will therefore continue to honorably fulfill its humanist mission.

Finally, Sergeant Petr Drachenko and officer candidate Volker Umlauf stated their firm will to always prove their efficiency in the peace struggle as class brothers and brothers-in-arms in deed.

The meeting, which was attended by Wolfgang Herger, director of the SED Central Committee Security Department; Colonel General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Administration of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; and Colonel General Vladimir Meretskov, deputy commander of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces in the National People's Army of the GDR.

SPD Presidium Opposes Missile Modernization

AU2302200589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 89 p 5

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—A great majority of the FRG population rejects the plans to deploy new nuclear short-range missiles and new long-range nuclear weapons in the FRG, the SPD Presidium stated in a declaration published in Bonn on Monday [20 February]. The disarmament process which started with the INF Treaty is being risked by an arms race initiated by the West. There is no sound reason for NATO to decide in favor of modernization. The FRG Government has to "clearly reject new nuclear rearmament" at the forthcoming NATO summit.

SPD Federal Manager Anke Fuchs was critical before the press of a petition which was submitted to the Bundestag on 8 June last year rejecting all nuclear rearmament and any military compensation for the INF Treaty and calling for a third and fourth zero option has been obstructed until today.

East-West Party Meeting Issues Statement

AU2302112889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Joint press statement of the participants in the meeting of Communist and Social Democratic parties: "There Must Be No Break in the Disarmament Process"]

[Text] The fourth roundtable conference of representatives of the Flemish Socialist Party (Belgium), the BCP, the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, the SED, the Netherlands Labor Party, and the MSZMP took place in Berlin from 16 through 18 February.

The participants stated unanimously that positive changes in the international and European situation have taken place since their meeting in February last year. They welcomed the fact that the East-West dialogue has been intensified, intermediate-range nuclear missiles have been liquidated, regional conflicts have been defused, CEMA and the EC have established official relations, and the Vienna CSCE followup meeting was concluded successfully.

The representatives of the parties are aware of Europe's special responsibility for the mitigation of tensions between East and West and for their common security. They proceeded from the reality that their countries are members of different alliance systems. In the discussions at the conference, the participants also considered that the realities on our continent, which has an eventful history, not only include differences, but also interdependencies, a common cultural heritage, and cultural values. They consider it very important to find ways to articulate common aspects in European developments more clearly in the future. Therefore, they discussed the further shaping of the CSCE process, and exchanged views on how the idea of the common European home could take shape, and on how the negative consequences of the division of Europe into blocs facing each other could be overcome.

Equal cooperation on the basis of mutual respect in the political, military, economic, scientific-technological, ecological, and humanitarian areas, as well as the recognition of the territorial realities and the inviolability of borders would create favorable conditions for an open Europe.

They stated unanimously that Europe needs fewer forces and arms, in order to use the opportunities of its peaceful development. In view of the extraordinarily large concentration of capabilities of military destruction, they stressed that it is necessary for both alliances to make their contribution so as to prevent a break in disarmament. This process should lead to a stable balance on a lower level, which will be achieved by eliminating existing imbalances. The recent unilateral steps taken by the Soviet Union, the GDR, the CSSR, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria are a contribution in this respect. They paid tribute to the commitment of European Social Democratic and Socialist parties to peace, disarmament, and detente. At the same time, the representatives of the six parties rejected every attempt to replace the intermediate-range missiles that are to be liquidated under the INF Treaty, by new or modernized systems.

The participants welcomed the forthcoming resumption of negotiations on a reduction in forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, as well as the continuation of negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe. A reduction in conventional armaments, including the dual capable systems, to the lowest possible level by reducing bilateral asymmetries and imbalances to a point where the structural incapacity to attack has been achieved, must be the result of the negotiations. They stated in this context that disarmament at sea must not be excluded. They stressed the necessity of holding parallel negotiations on all short-range nuclear systems. It is time now to negotiate and not to modernize.

The participants attach utmost importance to setting up corridors and zones free of nuclear and offensive conventional weapons.

They propose talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and between defense ministers of both military alliances on their military doctrines.

The representatives of the six parties supported all efforts to tackle urgent ecological and environmental problems jointly on the basis of further bilateral and multilateral cooperation between East and West. They stressed that striving for economic and technological progress must include the obligation to protect the environment.

The participants in the conference proposed the further development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the European states. They advocated an increase in trade by opening up markets and by overcoming discriminating trade practices. The participants consider the development of cooperation in the areas of human contacts, information, culture, and education an important element of security and confidence. They stressed the necessity of respecting and enforcing human rights—meaning political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights—in their entirety and interdependence. They supported the relevant provisions of the final document of the Vienna CSCE meeting.

The representatives of the six parties propose the conclusion of an agreement on halving strategic offensive weapons, while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty, a stepwise reduction in nuclear weapons tests up to a halt of all tests, as well as the strengthening of the nonproliferation regime of nuclear weapons. The representatives of the parties welcomed the results of the Paris meeting and proposed the conclusion of an agreement on a worldwide ban on chemical weapons as soon as possible. They proposed in this context the creation of chemical weapon-free zones as an initial step.

The participants stressed the necessity of building more confidence by continuing the dialogue on Europe's prospects.

They agreed to hold their next meeting in Brussels.

Government Joins Geneva Convention on Refugees

LD2402125989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] We have just heard that our country has joined the 1951 Geneva Convention regulating the situation of refugees. This was decided by the Presidential Council at its session today. It has been necessary to join to resolve the legal situation of those foreign citizens who are temporarily staying in our country and who do not wish to return to their homelands, who are to be considered as refugees. At the same time this step reflects Hungary's human rights and humanitarian policy and expresses the fact that in this field we wish to link our practice to the UN universal frameworks.

Nemeth Interviewed on Reforms, Political Trends

AU2002164289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth following a working visit to Budapest's 11th district, by NEPSZABADSAG correspondent Kornelia Dolecsko, in Budapest on 16 February: "Miklos Nemeth Interviewed—There Is No Good Policy Without Improving Economy—Premier Visits Budapest's 11th District"]

[Text] [Dolecsko] The enterprise leaders put it strongly: They are expecting the government to come up with a lasting economic program that leads to changes. You told them about your plans. Would you inform our readers, too?

[Nemeth] It has now become clear that the several aspects of conditions and circumstances under which the government formulated its program of stabilization have changed considerably. This in itself makes it necessary to adjust certain goals of our current program to the new situation and to supplement these goals with elements that contribute to development and to moving away from the deadlock. This should not only mean an economic and political character but also a social policy, including education and cultural, program, too. Obviously, I am right in saying that the restrictive policy we have been forced to carry out in the economy in recent years has exhausted its resources. If we continue on this road, the economy will clearly diminish within a foreseeable period of time. Where should we then make changes? First of all, we should make changes concerning the issues of the ownership reform. We should work out a variety of solutions here that can be applied in practice. We should not allow rigidity to characterize our thinking and our activity. On the basis of practical experiences, if adjustments are needed later, we should allow these adjustments to be made, and we should also lay down the ideological foundations of such changes.

Another closely related task is the need to create a package deal of accelerating ventures, a package deal that will also contain, in addition to expanding the scope of state ownership and enriching the forms of community ownership, the acceleration and encouragement of small-scale enterprises and private ventures. I consider it a major task to prepare a reevaluation of our economic policy as soon as possible, and as a result we could gradually eliminate the inflationary factors from the Hungarian economy. Of course, this cannot take place overnight, but we should firmly endeavor to conduct an anti-inflationary economic policy. In addition, I think that it is inevitable that we open up to the world economy and strengthen the export orientation of our economy. Within this, it is particularly important to critically review the mechanism of CEMA cooperation and to discuss the different variations of the concepts with our partners, including the Soviet leadership, as soon as possible.

[Dolecsko] You said you would also bring up the issue at the upcoming meeting of government heads in Moscow, and that the Hungarian proposal on CEMA cooperation would also be on the agenda of the meeting of general secretaries to be held in Prague in this summer.

[Nemeth] This issue will obviously be on the agenda of the meeting in Prague in summer. By then, we will have specific and precise calculations. I will present the essence and direction of our concepts at the meeting of government heads to be held in Moscow.

[Dolecsko] During your exchange of views, you said that the government would prepare the economic action program for our society by the summer of this year. When will this be exactly?

[Nemeth] I cannot give you a precise deadline, but we should prepare a mobilizing program containing reform solutions by the middle of this summer at the latest, in order to provide a basis not only for our society but also for the economic leaders. This does not mean that we should stop working out the social policy reform package deal. On the contrary: This should be accelerated, just like the budget and wage reforms. The recently published Central Committee position also formulated this. I regard it as extremely important that in this position we do not hold back the reform of our political institutions and thus guarantee the harmony in the reform of economic and political institutions, but we should responsibly accelerate, wherever possible, the conditions of the economy's ability to create income.

[Dolecsko] You often used the expression reform center. What do you mean by this?

[Nemeth] At the Politburo and Central Committee sessions, we have been discussing and debating for quite some time the fact that the diversity in politics and in the party would, sooner or later, lead to problems if a basic trend does not emerge. What can this be? This can be put differently: We can formulate an ultraradical reform program by imagining fundamentalist and orthodox trends, but no one will follow these trends and no one will bear the consequences. Therefore, not for pragmatic reasons but from deep conviction, we should search for the true solution between the two, a trend that can align the majority of our society's ability to act. This is a reform center. The acceptance of a program that carries our reform and that requires and supports socialism, not in the traditional sense of the expression left wing, must be found.

Historical Committee on State's Last 40 Years

LD2202094889 Budapest MTI in English
1528 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI)—The historical sub-committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has compiled a report on the development of the Hungarian People's Republic over the past forty years. The sub-committee was headed by Ivan T. Berend, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The report is carried by the latest special issue of "TARSADALMI SZEMLE" (SOCIAL REVIEW) published in February.

In the introduction, Mr Berend says that full research into the period under survey would take a considerable number of years. The sub-committee only undertook to evaluate in broad outlines the processes of the period on the basis of former historical studies and documents, and the latest sources published by archives.

By the second half of the 1980s, Hungary had piled up grave economic, social and political problems and faced a comprehensive crisis. The main reason was its failure to adjust itself to the technological revolution and the sweeping structural changes in the world economy. As a consequence, the gap between Hungary and the advanced industrial countries ceased to narrow and a reverse trend emerged, leading to grave indebtedness and imbalance. Inflation and a decrease in real wages started.

In the power structure of one-party system and the hegemony of Marxist-Leninist ideology, these phenomena led to a crisis of direction and a moral and ideological crisis in the HSWP. Time has completely eliminated the validity of the doctrine that failed to entirely eliminate the Stalinist concept of socialism, and the related political structures. The ideology bound to the ruling party remained untouched as taboo, failed to meet the challenges of crisis phenomena, and finally contributed to the crisis of the legitimation of power.

The crisis of the East European (and Hungarian) model of socialism which emerged in the past fifteen years dates back to long historical preliminaries.

The historical heritage of socialist transformation in Hungary stems from the old regime and the Hungarian traditions, including the 1919 events, and from the practice of the Soviet Union and Stalinism. The Hungarian Communist Party fully accepted the Stalinist model since it offered a means for modernizing Hungary and eliminating its inherited backwardness.

In the middle of the 20th century Hungary ranked among the European countries with medium levels of development. National income was 70 per cent of the European average, and a fourth or third of the West European figure. The bulk of the national income was derived from agriculture, and 38 per cent of the population was urban.

Besides its grave socio-political consequences, the peace treaty of Trianon created new economic conditions which were extremely cumbersome to adapt to. This situation adversely affected the decades between the two world wars. The historic heritage was further aggravated by the disastrous Second World War which claimed one million lives and caused tremendous material damage during the six months of front battles. Fifty per cent of railways, 36 per cent of bridges, 50 per cent of the livestock and 24 per cent of industrial capacities—more than a third of the national wealth—was destroyed. To sum up, in 1945 Hungary went through one of the darkest chapters of its history.

The appearance of the Soviet Army offered, in a historically unique manner, an opportunity for creating new socio-political power conditions through the total destruction of the former ruling classes and power forces. The social landslide at the end of the war also enhanced the chances of Hungarian progressive forces which were decimated and silenced between the two world wars. Such preliminaries strongly influenced the Hungarian historic processes after the Second World War.

The system of people's democracy from 1944-1947 following the liberation, a revolutionary, democratic socio-political turn took place in the country. The presence of the Soviet troops and the Allied Control Committee provided guarantee for the consistent uprooting of Nazi elements. A number of different people's power institutions came into existence through spontaneous self-organization.

The coalition system, although deriving cohesion from external factors, proved viable. At the same time, Hungary's geopolitical position and the system of great power accords, which ensured—if tacitly—the sphere of interest of the particular great powers, extremely strengthened the home political leverage of the Hungarian Communist Party, lending it greater importance in the coalition than justified by its actual mass basis. (This also made it possible to capture key positions in the armed bodies.)

The restoration of the Hungarian economy undisputably gained strong impetus from the purposeful economic policy programme of the left wing. In the course of 1946, a state capitalistic economic system was established in the country, although small-scale property remained predominant. The country stabilized its finances by self-effort and nationalized the key economic areas.

Turn in 1947-48 and the Early Fifties

The idea of turning people's democracy into socialism emerged in the second half of 1947. The reason could be found in the collapse of the wartime alliance of great powers and the emergence of cold war, the danger of another armed conflict. Founded in 1947, the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties (Cominform) declared as a uniform standpoint of the communist parties that the world was divided into two parts for a long period and war was unavoidable. The borders of the socialist countries were hermetically sealed, and the iron curtain came into being.

The party's leadership headed by Matyas Rakosi welcomed the turn enthusiastically and abolished the opposition parties. He absorbed or eliminated coalition partners, and the excessively servile copying of the Soviet model led to the introduction of several alien institutions that had no tradition in Hungary.

The merger of the two workers' parties, namely the Communists and the Social Democrats, in the summer of 1948 was the decisive event of transformation in Hungary. The Communist Party practically absorbed the Social Democratic Party to found the Hungarian Workers People's Party. The party members and their organizations were degraded to the role of mere implementation and the aggressive education of the social environment. It was the beginning of the party apparatus, together with the bureaucratic and uncontrollable power of the omnipotent party leaders.

Stemming from the logic of the system, the turn of 1948 was almost immediately followed by the Rajk trial, which was aimed at providing direct evidence for unmasking Tito. The conception of the trial was devised by the Soviet secret service, who later took over the direction of interrogations. The Rajk case was followed by a series of trials based on trumped up charges. People arrested included the former leaders of the Social Democratic left wing, leaders of the formerly illegal Communist Party who had either lived in Hungary or returned from the West.

In a simultaneous development, Hungary started to imitate the economic model adopted in the Soviet Union after 1928. There was an ideological and political compulsion to take over the Soviet model in all fields, ranging from political organizations and institutions to economic policy and planning.

It is indisputable that industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, including the voluntary and gradual foundation of cooperative farms, were historical tasks and fundamentally in the national interest. They were, however, accompanied by damaging phenomena, such as the extreme, war-communistic nature of nationalization, the almost complete elimination of the private sector, the forced pace of industrialization, excessive emphasis on the heavy industry, primarily metallurgy, and forceful and hasty collectivization.

Nevertheless, the economic and social policy also yielded some results. The economic policy and the adopted model promoted rapid industrialization, the educational system was extended by leaps and bounds, and the introduction of the eight-class primary school practically eliminated illiteracy. Due to the cultural revolution, broad masses of the population were given access to theatre and books. Although the cultural policy was particularly one-sided excluding and destroying values, it undoubtedly helped increase the cultural standard of the population. Social insurance and free health care, which used to be available for some privileged groups or workers and employees, were rapidly extended to the overwhelming majority of the urban population.

Due to these processes, the extreme, caste-like segregation of Hungarian society disappeared in the first postwar decade, and social mobility increased enormously. Both trends can be evaluated as outstanding achievements in social modernization.

Nevertheless, economic contradictions and the prevailing absence of motivation obviously led to serious waste. A quarter of the growth in the national income achieved at the cost of particular sacrifice was wasted through various channels. Shortage became prevalent and food was rationed for a short while. The economy, as society as a whole, was regulated by compulsory directives. A strong central party apparatus transmitted the instructions of the ruling group (not the leading bodies) of the monolithic party to the party organizations and to the social organizations and the state apparatus. The latter became dependent servile executors of the central decisions and instructions.

The prevailing situation inevitably destroyed the mass basis and popular support of social and political transformation. Political power and society became alienated. Although the Hungarian Working People's Party had hundreds of thousands members, its real camp narrowed down. The violation to national self-respect also played a role in the accumulation of tensions. The false interpretation of internationalism, the servile copying and insincere praise of Soviet practice was combined in a particularly unfortunate way with the well-intentioned but increasingly irritating chastisement of Hungarian nationalism. After the Second World War the Hungarian communist movement was unable to make a justified approach to the national issue. The flagellant evaluation of the past, going to the extreme of the 'fascist nation', was accompanied by the hushing up of real national grievances, deportations and minority problems that followed both the First and the Second World War, and by a superficial national, popular purification combined organically with Stalinist ideology.

A paternalistic approach was made to society. The working class embittered by major cuts in their living standard and the repeated tightening of norms, tormented villagers, and humiliated professionals, were turned away from power. The possibilities of dialogue and seeking for a solution disappeared step by step.

Stalin's death in 1953 and the subsequent changes in the Soviet Union furnished an opportunity to declare the political failure. Rakosi was summoned to Moscow, and at the confidential talks the policy of the Hungarian Working People's Party (MDP) came under sharp criticism. This was preliminary to the July 1953 decision of the MDP central leadership, the appointment of Imre Nagy as prime minister and the announcement of the new course.

However, the only error admitted by the Rakosi-Gero group was overstrained development and substantial changes were avoided. The intended reforms of Imre Nagy were also met with distrust by the Soviet leaders and the effected changes proved to be merely corrections. In 1955 the system was on its former course and Imre Nagy was dismissed from the prime minister's post.

With this, however, the Hungarian Working People's Party plunged into a severe crisis, from which there was no recovery. A fatal process of polarization emerged within the party and society and collapse became inescapable.

No real turn came about even in July 1956, when Matyas Rakosi was replaced on Mikoyan's personal mediation. The appointment of Erno Gero as first party secretary indicated the unchanged nature of the policy pursued. Explosion was steadily approaching.

To sum up, Hungary of the 1950s showed an extremely controversial picture. It was the start of modernization based on original capital accumulation, and social mobilization and egalitarianism. Results were major and achievements historic, even if they were accompanied by immense burdens. On the other hand, the erroneous pattern of industrialization, isolation from the world economy, and the relegation of infrastructure to second place, blocked progress. As bureaucratic-dictatorial etatism was entirely incompatible with the requirements of modern society, it raised serious obstacles on the road of development, particularly in the socialist direction. In this context, the practice of the 1950s turned out to be a false track of social development.

Popular Uprising in October 1956

The demand for change emerged with elementary force. Although the related programme and the demands were represented by rather narrow, but increasingly agitating groups of professionals, they attracted the interest of the masses which although had not protested, were insulted, defrauded, humiliated and embittered. It was under such circumstances that a mass demonstration took place on October 23 and an armed popular uprising broke out against state power in the evening of the same day. Since the impotent Gero-Hegedus leadership immediately asked for the intervention of Soviet troops, the popular uprising turned to be a national war of independence in the eye of the masses which had already been affronted in their national sentiments.

The subsequent two weeks were characterized, beside national and democratic aspirations, by an intermingling of forces and endeavours. The fundamental endeavour for the renewal and sweeping democratic reform of socialism was a determining force when the popular uprising broke out and it remained present. Others had the intention of returning to the post-war system of people's democratic power. Advocates of restoring the old regime that had been overthrown barely a decade before and supporters of the idea of adopting the Western bourgeois system also appeared on the scene. Extreme nationalist, declasse and lumpenproletariat elements turned up and were encouraged by the instigating Western radio transmissions. The Imre Nagy government, which was appointed on October 23 under great public pressure, did not prove to be equal to the task. Instead of controlling the events, it was swept along by them. Despite the events reflecting the tendency of a gradual shift to the right and the counter-revolutionary pressure intensifying in the first days of November, the intermingling corrective revolution and counter-revolution were not separated and the nature of the process not clarified. The Soviet leadership, evaluating the situation in Hungary as counter-revolution, passed—partly under the effect of the Suez crisis—a sovereign decision on military intervention. The Soviet leadership obtained the consent of the Chinese and Yugoslav leaders and later that of the leaders of other socialist countries.

The representatives of the conservative Rakosi-Gero group obviously had to be excluded from the reorganization of power. The changes were effected by the former party opposition group, headed by Janos Kadar and Ferenc Munnich, which had already distanced itself in certain respects from Imre Nagy's group in the spring of 1956. Kadar's group deployed every means to restore power, cut off a major part of the former reform wing from the HSWP, adapted itself to the necessities of the frames of November 4, and adopted the taboos related to Soviet-Hungarian relations, the maintenance of the post-Stalinist institutionalized political structures, and the preservation of monolithic power and property relations. At the same time, it blocked the way of a conservative Stalinist-Rakosiist restoration, still a danger in the spring of 1957.

After the retaliations of the first years and the consolidation of power, the HSWP exercised its power in a humane, liberal and enlightened way. What is more, it made cautious efforts to correct the Stalinist model by getting rid of a number of its elements and replacing them with new and autonomous solutions. All this led to the gradual emergence of a new, autonomous model of socialism. Central emphasis was laid on the permanent improvement of living conditions. Agriculture, which used to be regarded as a source of industrialization, gradually reached the world standard. The country's economy and standards of living also caught up to a certain extent.

The most important achievements which created popular conciliation and even consensus were made in the economic field. Although broad masses of the population could never accept the simplified evaluation of October, 1956, as a "counter-revolution", they saw that the Kadar government was working for the prosperity of the people and the country. The moderate but permanent increase in the standards of living became a determining feature of the period. Another important recognition by, and practical result of, the party leadership was that industrialization did not advance to the detriment of agriculture. What is more, agriculture also developed at a rapid pace. As a result, Hungary attained agricultural results that sharply differred from the Stalinist model and the practice of neighbouring countries, and moved to the world's vanguard in per capita grain and meat production.

In other economic policy spheres, the HSWP was unable to abandon the MDP's former practice, although the party leadership was aiming for renewal. The undesirable continuity was particularly striking in three areas:

a) The structural principles of the industrialization policy

b) The unilateral subordination and neglectful handling of the infrastructure

c) The sustained traits of Stalin's concept of socialism

The latter was manifest in the absolutization of primitive state property and the shutting off of private activity, as well as in the decade-long practice of centralized planning. Quantitative growth remained a central problem, and quality moved to the background.

Yet, development produced unprecedented results in Hungary as well, such as the extension of secondary education to large masses in the period of peaceful construction and the re-created link between higher education and research after years of forcible separation. Through foreign study trips, scholarships and practice at the world's leading research institutes, Hungarian science became re-integrated into universal science.

The dictates of taste were eliminated in art and cultural life and support and tolerance offered far greater possibilities for free self-realization, though banning was also an accompaniment.

This policy had led to informal consensus between authority and the leading representatives of cultural life. The ensuing effect helped realize an optimal measure of intellectual freedom within the given frames.

Economic Reform

In the wake of that, a rapidly-flourishing intellectual basis emerged, which played a special role in the self-generating development of Hungary's economic reform. On the basis of the government's attitude and pragmatic ability for correction, the analyses and reform proposals of the intellecutal workshops gave inspiration to the solution of social and economic contradictions.

The reform endeavours emerging in the socialist countries in the mid-sixties granted a favourable international background for that. The election of Rezso Nyers as CC [Central Committee] secretary in charge of economic policy affairs provided an appropriate personal guarantee for the preparation of reform. In the second half of the 60s, there was no public opposition to reform in Hungary.

At the same time, many people, standing formally on the platform of reform, expressed anxiety and issued warnings about the dangers which could justifiably be expected and those imagined. Their arguments were motivated by the intention of preserving the prevailing scale of values and socialism, absolutized as it was in the Stalinist structures. These norms posed obstacles to reform and led to repeated compromises that were integrated into the reform system.

Nevertheless, the political structure and the system of economic institutions, including the huge, over-centralized, industrial and servicing monopolies, remained unchanged. Although there were plans for developing the institutional system, they remained unrealized, since the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the related political and ideological environment, and the conservative turn, isolated Hungarian reforms in the international field and exposed it to external criticism and pressure, and necessarily strengthened the conservative tendencies within the country.

The economic reform of 1968, based upon a resolution of 1966, was a step of historic importance, which put an end to planning by central directives. Direct instructions were replaced by economic regulators which eliminated a number of anomalies in the operation of the system. The increasing incentives released new energies for initiative. These years witnessed an approach between Hungarian society and power. The former alienation of power was disappearing, reflected by Janos Kadar's popularity. Power and people winked at each other and did what they saw a possibility for. This political consensus was based on genuine economic, social and political achievements. Although society showed reservation towards, and mistrust in, a lot of things, it accepted that the past decades of socialist construction had created values. Aware of advance, society also accepted that it would be unfit and unfortunate to harp on about certain issues and that the geopolitical realities of the country had to be taken into account.

Breaking of Reform, Emergence of Crisis 1973-1988

In the autumn of 1972, a conservative political attack was launched against the reforms. The attack enjoyed powerful external support and took place under the Stalinist concept of socialism. A group of leaders, including Zoltan Komocsin, Bela Biszku and Arpad Pullai, criticized distortions in the implementation of reform and alleged that the post-1968 practice had led to the spreading of petty bourgeois acquisitiveness and the violation of socialist principles and the interests of the working class. The attack stopped the reform process, prevented the elaboration of its second stage, and even gave way to a rollback. The reform wing suffered a grave defeat and an informal process of re-centralization started. Retaliation against some prominent intellectuals (which involved dismissal from research institutes) clearly indicated the theoretical and ideological limits of reform. All this was clearly reflected by the HSWP programme declaration of 1975 which ignored the outstanding achievements of Hungarian social sciences in the 1960s and the early 1970s. Policy prevented not only the exploration of the real structure and stratification of society and swept away the concepts of reality and transformation elaborated by economists, but failed to analyse correctly the achievements of contemporay capitalism. The world concept drawn up in the programme was in sharp contrast with reality.

Hungary faced such intellectual circumstances when the unmistakable signs of the oil price explosion reached the country in the autumn of 1973. The vast transformation processes of the world economy came to the surface with new phenomena, including the rearrangement of prices and terms of trade. The new situation was not easy to judge. It was difficult to decide whether the problems could be traced back to international political reasons or to a cyclic crisis characteristic of the capitalist economy, or possibly to long-term and more penetrating changes. The old reflexes, however, began to work. 'The socialist economy cannot be affected by the crisis, as its effects come to a halt at Hegyeshalom,' the political leadership of the time declared. All this was followed by a protracted lack of realistic judgement of conditions, and Hungary's economic policy did not respond to the changes for five years. In reaction to economic malfunctions, the economic administration chose the policy of setting things in order by central measures. An upper limit was set to company workforces, the imbalances were overcome by taking out loans which were then still available in ample quantity and on easy terms in the international money market, and 8,000 million dollars' debt was run up from 1973 to 1978.

As the changes in the era became obvious, re-orientation could not be further delayed. The first step was the formulation of a new long-term external economic strategy. The October, 1977, resolution of the Central Committee laid down, for the first time in the history of the socialist countries, the demand for export-oriented development instead of import-substituting development.

Nevertheless, the turn coincided with the unfavourable change in international politics. The new cold-war wave, which followed the erroneous intervention in Afghanistan and the stepped-up arms race, dealt a blow to East-West relations, which adversely affected the environment and conditions of the reform policy in both relations.

The external conditions of returning to reform were rather unfavourable. It was partly due to these conditions that Hungary saw a period of stagnation from 1978 to May, 1988, although the conclusions drawn in these years were, in most cases, correct. In the past decade, decisions passed under the old reflexes and contradicting the new situation and processes that continued for the reasons of inertia moment [as received] intermingled with genuine reform steps which were, however, torn out of their context in most cases. The whole period was marked by perplexed contradictions between short- and long-term interests. The majority of steps, advantageous in the short term, proved harmful in the long run.

A good many correct and important measures were taken during that period. The reform of producer and consumer prices was carried out in two stages in 1979-80. Private activities were legalized and state-run shops and restaurants hired out in the early 1980s. Although these measures led to 'self-exploitation', they started to pluralize the economy and correct the errors committed in the period of excessive nationalization. Further important steps included the merger of three industrial ministries, the dissolution of large corporate monopolies, the partial transformation of the centralized banking system, and Hungary's admission to the International Monetary Fund. The crisis management of Hungary's upset economic balance yielded temporary results between 1979 and 1982, and averted the grave threat of insolvency in 1982-83.

These results, however, proved temporary and contradictory. The one-sided, restrictive, short-term measures, aimed at restoring balance, turned out to be just the opposite, since the constraints and radical cuts in imports and investments restored the balance of trade and improved the balance of payments only in the short term. After a while, they unavoidably reproduced imbalance, since they undermined the basis for increasing exports. Lasting spots of crisis emerged. Another grave consequence was that the policy aimed at restoring the balance powerfully acted against the reforms.

The complete failure to launch the implementation of the long-term external economic and restructuring aims, despite the economic political recognitions, was equally responsible for the evolvement of the crisis and the economic processes of the decade. The party leadership was reluctant to tackle the tensions accompanying the transformation. The unchanged investment policy just added to the difficulties. Mistaken measures included not only the economically-harmful capital power projects launched during the spell of the energy crisis (e.g. the Eocene programme, the Nagymaros barrage or the extremely cumbersome Tengiz project), but also the steady continuation of the investment policy that characterized the Stalinist economic political practice and was in complete contradiction to Hungary's endowments.

The economic administration failed to find a way out of the crisis. The branches of key importance for long-term settlement were in stalemate or recession, and the collapse of lastingly loss-making companies, causing large-scale unemployment, could only be avoided by paying out huge subsidies. In the meantime, low adaptability to the world market continued to orientate Hungarian companies to the poorer market of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, thus preserving earlier weaknesses.

Since the late 1970s, the economic recession, the deteriorating standard of living and aggravating economic problems were gradually transformed into socio-political tension. The cultural sphere commercialized and social security came under question because, under today's circumstances, the financial background of the announced social welfare policy is lacking and two million people live under or around the subsistence level. The consensus of power and society gradually collapsed. The government was unable to find a solution to the problems, and even denied for a whole that the problems existed at all. The leading bodies frequently passed decisions authoritatively, and several members of these bodies were seeking to find out the opinion of the supreme leadership. Occasionally, the decision of the Political Committee reflected the general secretary's position and the majority view of the body.

The leadership lost its reputation and earlier popularity. The party membership was unwilling to be held responsible for decisions prepared without their participation. However, the party and the government continued to react in the traditional way, and identified the desired stability of the country with preserving its own intactness and stability. When they finally decided to carry out changes in personnel, what actually happened was merely a game of musical chairs—the exchange of posts between the same people who had been discredited or proven incompetent. The circle of leaders appeared to be impenetrable and beyond the reach of social control.

Under such circumstances, the Gorbachevian turn in the Soviet Union swept through Hungarian society with the combined effect of surprise and inspiration. Criticism strengthened with an explosive force within the party and society, and was further enhanced by the unskillful, abortive measures of power. The complexity of criticism and the formulation of comprehensive reform proposals covering political structures and pressing for qualitative improvement became prevalent.

The party conference of May, 1988, brought a real breakthrough in two areas:

a) Politics under the spirit of in-party freedom of platform, the democratic transformation of political structures and the acceptance of pluralism,

b) The institutional establishment of a statehood linked with the comprehensive advancement of economic reform and the creation of a socialist market economy.

With this, the party conference expressed its endeavour to look for a solution by working out new social, political and economic frames on the road towards socialism, by the clear ideological formulation of all this and under the system of democratic socialism based on a market economy.

Nor was the situation clarified in the period following the party conference. The leadership of the party is running out of time. It has set up committees to evaluate the past, devise a new programme and elaborate a new, comprehensive economic reform. Work has started, but the results will only become visible by 1989.

In a simultaneous development, a multi-party system is being established by leaps and bounds, but the political handling of the process is still unsettled. It will determine the future of the party and the country whether the HSWP, the government and the other responsible forces, through appropriate compromises, can live up to the tasks stemming from sweeping and comprehensive renewal, so as to prevent both a social explosion and a forced conservative rollback, since both would drag the country into another national tragedy and hinder the international processes of socialist renewal.

Central Committee Ends Debate on Agriculture

LD2202110489 Budapest MTI in English
1640 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI)—The debate on agrarian policy has just concluded at the HSWP CC [Central Committee] session. Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the CC, reacted to the contributions. The debate launched at the current session will continue in wider circles and, after assessing experience, the HSWP's new agrarian policy will emerge at the end of April. He pointed out that not a single contribution was made to question the correctness of the method of renewal.

The Central Committee adapted the document on the renewal of the party's agrarian policy as a topic of debate, Subsequently—in keeping with the agenda—Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Commitee and secretary of the CC, presented the motion on the report summarising the meetings of city and county councils. In his speech, he stressed that the independence of the party organs could only emerge if suitable guidelines accompanied basic political and organizational issues. In other words, the Central Committee was not only entitled, but liable to lead the party, setting the course of activity for the party bodies. From the experience of the party meetings, the conclusion could be drawn that, without creating the necessary conditions, no self-initiated, independent activity can be expected from local party organs. Some of these conditions must be provided by the Central Committee, one of them being the setting down of the CC's own standing and recommendations relating to long-term targets. The other condition is the provision of clear-cut guarantees for the free expression of opinion by its members.

Central Committee Reply to New March Front

AU2002210289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Feb 89 p 3

["MSZMP Central Committee Reply to the Appeal of the New March Front"]

[Text] 1. The Central Committee welcomes the initiatives of the New March Front included in its document "From the One-party System to Representational Democracy." The Central Committee agrees with the general political goals of the document and supports the basic efforts aimed at establishing a full-fledged democratic constitutional state. The Central Committee considers it important for the transition to strengthen the political confidence of social and political organizations that are taking part in this transition, and not to endanger the stability of the country's order and economy. The Central Committee also agrees that the MSZMP should play a more active role of initiatives than hitherto in shaping the conditions of a democratic transition. However, the Central Committee is convinced that the previous processes of reform and democratization, and the events that have taken place since the party conference, have proven the MSZMP's commitment to democratic renewal.

The Central Committee rejects the opinion of the New March Front according to which it should now make its moral entrance into the representational democracy.

2. The position of the party conference in favor of socialist pluralism should not be considered merely a declaration of principle: The pluralization of our political institutions has begun; publicity, press, and mass media information are far greater than before; and the political public life has changed considerably in the course of a few months. We have taken further important steps aimed at strengthening Hungary's international openness. According to the position of the MSZMP, despite the numerous undesirable accompanying phenomena, the direction of these changes is favorable and progressive. The Central Committee supports the establishment of a forum of political coordination and consultation whose fundamental task would be to assist—through a steady political dialogue—in drafting the new constitution and the election law. The Central Committee finds it possible for the participants in the coordinating meeting taking place as a result of preliminary consultations to formulate a common stand on certain major issues, in addition to the aforementioned tasks.

3. According to the Central Committee position, nothing justifies the radical reorganization of the legislative process. The new draft constitution should be prepared on the basis of a broad social debate. Institutional conditions should be guaranteed for the application of the lessons of this social debate.

A legally elected National Assembly has the right to adopt the constitution. The Central Committee supports the idea that, after approval by parliament, the new constitution should be reconfirmed by a referendum.

4. According to the appeal of the New March Front, our society is expecting a constitution and an election law about which the delegates of its own organizations and movements publicly agree. The MSZMP itself is striving to implement this democratic goal and to cooperate with the constructive forces in this process of renewal. The MSZMP wants to continue the consultations that have already begun with the newly established political organizations and movements. The conceptual and organizational frames that serve our common goal of establishing a democratic and socialist constitutional state can emerge through a series of dialogues with the new political organizations, on the basis of mutual confidence.

Alternative Groups React to Central Committee

AU2102111489 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Feb 89 p 3

["Statement on the MSZMP Central Committee Position"]

[Text] We, the independent political organizations, associations, and parties, welcome the statement of the MSZMP Central Committee of 11 February and we consider it to be an important step on the road to the establishment of a democratic Hungary.

1. We welcome the position concerning the events of 1956. Finally, after 30 years, the party did away with the party decision of December 1956 which called this democratic people's movement a counterrevolution and which for the past 30 years was the unspoken constitution of the former leadership that was removed in May 1988.

We regard this position as a step forward, but one that is far from sufficient, because we object to the fact that it does not recognize the facts of the revolution, of the fight for freedom, and their democratic nature. We regard a clear positive evaluation of 1956 as inevitable and we reject the fact that the current party position is still exaggerating the importance of the infrequent negative phenomena that can only be regarded as consequences of 4 decades of Rakosi-Stalinist tyranny. At the same time, the MSZMP is silent about the bloody mass victims of the AVH [initials of the Hungarian internal security police at the time] and about the brutal reprisals after 1956.

We declare that the historical truth is that, in the period between the cease-fire between Imre Nagy's government and the uprising groups on 28 October 1956 and the foreign intervention on 4 November 1956, Hungary was progressing toward consolidation and the government strengthened its position. The revived democratic parties, which are now again emerging in our society, played a decisive role in this. A similar statement was made by Janos Kadar, the leader of the MSZMP that was established in this revolutionary period, who spoke about a glorious uprising of our people.

2. We regard it as an important condition of democratic development that the leading body of the MSZMP has accepted the mutiparty system which is the only democratic form of exercising power. In connection with this, we declare the following:

a) We consider democracy to be a general principle in the power apparatus, which supplements it with guarantees for human rights. Therefore, any mention of the leading role of the MSZMP is in contradiction with the principle of neutrality in competition mentioned in the general secretary's speech.

b) An institutionalized multiparty system and the principle of equal chances demand that the newly established parties and political organizations receive budget support on a par. Until the results of the first democratic elections, the amount of this support should be temporarily regulated by an agreement between the government and the organizations in question. After the elections, the parties should receive state support proportionate to their mandates. Until the issue is settled, the property of all these social organizations should be frozen and a ban should be placed on any attempt to transfer state properties to the benefit of these social organizations.

3. We welcome the fact that the reform wing of the MSZMP leadership gained ground at the recent plenum and that the adopted documents do not include the demands of the "conservative order wing."

4. We stress that the Hungarian press and the other mass media have played an outstanding role in the recent democratization process. Some well-meaning mistakes refer mostly to the tragicomedy of our situation. At the same time, we point out that Hungarian radio and television belong to the nation, to the society that maintains these institutions, and neither of them can be monopolized by the state, and particularly by a party.

5. In order to accelerate the democratic process and to put it on a firmer and broader political basis, we propose national roundtable negotiations with the participation of the government, the MSZMP leadership, and the democratic political organizations. These negotiations would have the task and goal of formulating the conditions of a constitutional National Assembly election.
Budapest, 17 February 1989.
Signed by: The Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society
The Transylvanian Association
The Federation of Young Democrats
The Independent Lawyers' Forum
The Independent Smallholders Party
The Hungarian Democratic Forum
The Hungarian Social Democratic Party
The Federation of Free Democrats
The Network of Free Initiatives
The Committee for Historical Justice
The Peter Veres Society

Soviet Academician on Neutrality for Hungary

LD1902220689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Interview with Soviet Academician Oleg Bogomolov by unidentified correspondent in Moscow "this week"; Bogomolov speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation; from "The Week" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The MSZMP Central Committee has taken a stand for the introduction of a multiparty system. How do you evaluate the changes in Hungary?

[Bogomolov] The Hungarian attempt should be viewed through the prism of broader changes that are taking place in a number of socialist countries. What is now being discussed in Hungary is also topical, to a certain extent, for others. However, recent experience and the statements of several leaders of the socialist countries, including Mikhail Gorbachev, show that life in the socialist countries is more complicated than we had presumed. The various strata of society have diverging interests. The problems can be settled in many ways, which means that the coordination of interests and views has to be institutionalized. To reach optimal decisions requires the confrontation of views and related institutions.

[Correspondent] Can you imagine a multiparty system in the Soviet Union?

[Bogolomov] Political pluralism is an indispensable condition of democratic socialism or socialist democracy. However, the concrete form of this political pluralism coming about either through a multiparty system or the emergence of such social organizations that advocate different alternatives within the framework of one-party rule is to be determined by given historical conditions. Our party has not put the issue of a multi-party system on the agenda for the time being.

[Correspondent] You recently said at a news conference that, were Hungary to become a neutral country similar to Austria or Sweden, this would not infringe on the interests of the Soviet Union.

[Bogomolov] I was referring to the various theories concerning the potential development of Hungarian society. This was an assumption, which would either materialize or not. We cannot exclude the possibility that Hungary will take this direction. It seems plausible that the internal structure and foreign orientation of Hungary would evolve into something like those of Austria and Sweden. But this is not the only possibility.

Perhaps everything will develop differently. In the given case, of course, it is not so much a question of the interests and security of the Soviet Union, as of Hungary's. In my opinion, by the way, this possible case does not threaten the security of the Soviet Union. The security and system of interests of Hungary are another matter. It is up to the Hungarian people to decide what version of internal and external politics they consider suitable. And, the possibilities do not have to be worked out by us in Moscow either, but by you, in Hungary.

[Correspondent] Do you consider it possible that a neutral Hungary could remain a member of the Warsaw Pact? Because there has never been an example of a change of such degree.

[Bogomolov] I think that is the most likely decision if matters continue on the indicated path. I do not know if it is this direction which is best for Hungary. Perhaps another road is better.

[Correspondent] Do you (?consider) that which would develop after such a great change in the system to be socialism? That is, do you consider the systems in Austria or Sweden to be close to socialism?

[Bogomolov] Modern capitalism should be given a different evaluation from that of the past. If we define socialism as the social system succeeding capitalism, then we should start from the realization that today's capitalist system has been rearing numerous elements of a future society. Today we are witnesses of the development of social ownership under the conditions of the Western countries. The elements of socialism have also been emerging there. Thus, we should have a wider approach to the question, and not simplify our image of a future society the way we used to.

The dividing line might not be drawn by such criteria as profit, or the capital of joint-stock companies, but rather by the distribution of a country's national income. Or by the character of the government, and whether political power stands for the interest of the entire society or just certain strata.

Szuros Welcomes Bogomolov Remarks

LD2002232189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2030 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Interview with Matyas Szuros by unidentified presenter; date, place not given—live or recorded; from the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Presenter] Both here at home and abroad a political sensation was caused by Soviet Academician Bogomolov's statement that Hungary could be neutral, like Austria or Sweden. He raised this as a hypothesis, a hypothetical possibility. Last week an eight-member delegation of the Hungarian National Assembly went to Strasbourg, to the European Parliament. The Moscow statement about the possibility of Hungary's neutrality prompts us to talk to Matyas Szuros, head of the parliamentary delegation, not only about his Strasbourg experiences.

[Szuros] What we are striving for is to evolve a kind of balance in Hungarian foreign policy. The development of relations is important equally with the East and with the West. It is natural that for us it is very important to rely on our alliance system, on the CEMA market, and (?so on, what is more) on cooperation with them. But from the viewpoint of the country's economic and technical development, and in other respects as well, in the process of European peace and security, it is important that relations with Western Europe should develop, cooperation should strengthen, and Hungary should increasingly fit into the European integration processes.

[Presenter] If we want to create a balance, then first and foremost we must now develop Western relations, since that is how a balance will come about.

[Szuros] That is so, that it so; that is what I meant to imply.

[Presenter] Academician Bogomolov recently raised Hungary's neutrality as a hypothesis. What is your personal opinion about this?

[Szuros] My opinion is that this really is a hypothesis, but there is a rational element in it. On the one hand, let us just think that we ourselves also strive for the elimination [folszamolas] of the military alliances. As a matter of fact, here it is a question of a military neutrality, and absolutely not a sociopolitical, let alone philosphical neutrality. In that case those states which were earlier the members of the alliance systems become participants in a kind of self-neutralizing [semlegesedesi] process. While, let us say, neutrality in the conventional sense loses its significance.

I believe that Academician Bogomolov must have been thinking approximately of this. On the other hand, he was paying regard to the fact that in Hungary really stormy changes are taking place in the most varied spheres of socio-political life and economic life. Therefore, in Hungary a new construction of socialism is being evolved which, according to our endeavors, will be some kind of Hungarian model, because it will be built on Hungarian resources and possibiltiies.

[Presenter] Does this mean that, for example, in such a process, in a self-neutralizing process, we do not have to wait for the whole process to be completed, and we do not have to wait for others, but that we can step forward in this?

[Szuros] I believe that we have to use our heads. In Hungary there is a very good intellectual capacity. As a matter of fact, I am now happy that Bogomolov, Bovin, and others in the Soviet Union are ahead of us in their thinking. It is another question that in practice, [Szuros chuckles] it is maybe the other way around. But this inspires my respect [imponal]. It inspires my respect—even if this is only a hypothesis, even if this is in reality of a fairly individual nature in the Soviet Union—that they are realistically dealing with the fact that in Hungary various processes are developing. Well, not even we ourselves know precisely what this model or this construction will be like. But there is no doubt that the old one has exhausted its reserves, and that we have to renew socialism. This is also useful for the Soviet Union. As for us, at least as far as I am concerned, the way that certain issues are being approached on the basis of reality by Soviet scientists and intellectuals like Bogomolov inspires respect.

Ferenc Munnich Society Official Interviewed

AU1502075189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Feb 89 p 7

[Gejza Vilcek dispatch: "The Past Cannot Be Voted on; Presenting the Ferenc Munnich Society"]

[Text] Budapest—The youngest among the various new organizations and movements in the Hungarian People's Republic is the Ferenc Munnich Society, founded on 11 November 1988. Although it is merely 3 months old, its growth is very promising—it has organizations in almost every county, a most active Executive Committee in Budapest, and a membership amounting to almost 10,000.

The name of the Executive Committee's leading secretary will sound familiar to many participants in the Slovak National Uprising (SNP) in southern Slovakia: Ferenc Berenyi had fought in the SNP and is well known in Lucenec and its surroundings, but also in Banska Bystrica. He is chairman of the section of Czechoslovak partisans in the Hungarian Union of Antifascist Fighters. "It is true," he says, "that our society was founded by predominantly older comrades linked with the resistance movement, the army, and the security corps; and at first this led to a certain aversion. But now the number of our members is growing in a most promising manner, thanks to young people, and particularly women. The people joining us are those who want a consolidated socialist situation, and our stands tell them that this is precisely what we are striving for."

"We have among us many people without party affiliation, many academicians, scientists, and journalists. The society wants to be the party leadership's critical ally in the development process, and considers it important to maintain close relations with the MSZMP," Comrade Berenyi quotes from the society's policy statement. According to this statement, the society rallies people who want to make effectively functioning socialism a reality. The goal is to contribute to the democratization of society and the modernization of the political system, to help implement human and nationality rights, and protect public life of integrity. An important part of the declaration is its extraordinary emphasis on the demand that the school system and the education of the working people become a "priority investment of society." The society takes a public and resolute stand against extreme left-wing, sectarian views, but also against all restoration endeavors. It wants to encourage the confidence of the committed defenders of socialism. It rejects propaganda which wants to turn individual corruption scandals against the entire party and the socialist system.

The F. Munnich Society has also reacted to the latest developments in opposition movements. It has issued a special statement on the efforts directed against the democratic development of socialism, and it criticizes efforts to manipulate the public. It objects to the tendency to appraise the events of 1956, which were an attack on the Hungarian People's Republic and on the socialist system, as a popular uprising. Such an understanding of popular uprisings contradicts the legacy of progress at home and abroad, the ideas of Petofi and Kossuth, the ideas of democratic and socialist revolutions. The people's movement cannot be a common denominator along with reactionary endeavors and the hooliganism of criminal elements. The society expresses concern that, in connection with preparing the concept of a new Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, certain people are casting doubts on the socialist nature of society, and even the very name of the Hungarian People's Republic, although this name emerged as far back as the bourgeois revolution of 1918.

The past cannot be voted on, F. Berenyi says. But our sense of reality tells us that we must get to know the past and frankly clarify everything about it, without abusing it to stir up emotions.

Comparison of Grosz CSSR Visit Communique

AU1702124789

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 16 February on page 2 carries an unattributed communique on the visit and talks by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz in the CSSR on 15 February, under the headline: "Communique on the Visit." The NEPSZABADSAG report has been compared with the Budapest MTI English version published in the 16 Feburary East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 16, revealing the following variations:

Column two, paragraph two, last sentence, to paragraph three, first sentence reads in NEPSZABADSAG: ...activity of the CPC, the implementation of the decisions made at the 17th congress and the subsequent Central Committee meetings, and the preparations for the 18th congress.

The two general... (supplying additional passage)

Paragraph four, last sentence, to paragraph five, first sentence reads in NEPSZABADSAG: ...reserves in relations. The two sides pointed out that in the mutually advantageous economic cooperation, they should strongly apply new forms of cooperation that raise the long-term cooperation to a higher qualitative level. Specialization, cooperation, and the activity aimed at further expanding scientific and technological cooperation should be intensified.

The sides emphasized... (supplying additional passage)

Paragraph six, last sentence, to paragraph seven, first sentence reads in NEPSZABADSAG: ...the mass media.

Expanding the contacts between their peoples, the exchange of cultural values, and tourism are playing an important role in the cooperation between the two countries. Starting from the... (supplying additional passage)

Page 17, column one, paragraph one, only sentence to paragraph two, first sentence reads in NEPSZABADSAG: ...of the CEMA in order to make the socialist countries' multilateral cooperation an efficient means of economic development.

During their exchange of views on topical international issues, a unity of views and positions emerged on the main global policy issues. The MSZMP and... (supplying additional passage)

Urban Meets Students on 'Wave' of Wage Demands

LD2402002289 Warsaw PAP in English
2332 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Gdansk, Feb 23—Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban today met with students of the Gdansk Technical University, telling them that the government was concerned with the wave of wage demands and feared that the process of reforming the state and economy could be disturbed by this.

Asked whether he foresaw a situation in which the opposition would take over power and the PUWP would move to the opposition, he replied that one could imagine such a possibility but this should not occur in the foreseeable future.

Urban said that it was more than likely that the NZS Independent Student Association would be legalized. The procedure of registration, as in the case of "Solidarity" is being elaborated, he said, adding: I am nonetheless not so sure whether this will be such a holiday for the current activists because a requirement will surface for the forms of their activities to be in accordance with the law, to "get civilized," if they take on a terrorist form, such as the "Krakow group" which recently tried to "imprison" the minister of National Education, the NZS will remain at odds with the law, Urban told the Gdansk students.

Strike, Warning Actions Continuing Over Pay

Regional Disputes Detailed

LD2302224589 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Excerpt] The wages conflicts are not abating. Strikes and warning actions are continuing. In the tri-city [Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot], strike alerts and protest actions are in progress in the Voivodship Transport Enterprise Gdansk-Gdynia, at the Gdansk furniture factory, at the Voivodship Union of Farmers, farming circles and organizations, at the Polish Railways' Gdansk junction, at the Gdansk regional heat and power enterprise, at the (?Meramont) shipping automation works, and at the Herbapol works in Gdansk. In Gdynia the same is happening at the sanitary and cleaning works, the Transbud, and the Port Workers Union. The workforce of the district transport and road machinery plant in Gdansk this morning held a 2-hour warning strike and announced an 8-hour strike for 27 February. Apart from the tri-city strike alerts are also in progress in Gdansk voivodship. The most important demand in all protest actions is an increase in pay.

Following talks with management, the workforce of the State Farms Combine in Tluszcz Gdanski has, on the other hand, stopped its action and has begun working.

A strike alert ended at the Polmo car components factory in Szczecin. Today the workforce and the management signed an agreement which constitutes a compromise. Let us recall that during the whole of the strike alert work at Polmo went as normal.

A strike has been in progress for the last 3 days at the enterprises belonging to the mineral raw materials mining company. In Skierniewice voivodship the aggregate mines in Rydwan, Dabkowice, and (?Czadolin) are standing idle and 70 employes are on strike. [passage omitted]

Unrest in Various Areas

LD2302133889 Warsaw PAP in English
2254 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—News of both protest actions and strikes came from some workplaces today as well as more encouraging news of conflicts—most frequently for higher wages—being resolved.

For example, a strike is underway at the state road transport PKS unit in Kolo, central Poland. Talks with the strikers have been resumed several times. Trucks supplying stores have not operated from the branch in Kolo for three days now. Apart from wage demands, the strikers are also forwarding postulates regarding working conditions of the crew and handling of vehicles.

The crew of the "Pom" machine repair centre in Braniewo, northeastern Poland, started a protest action today. The general manager of the "Pom" told PAP that talks would start with representatives of the crew on Thursday and the management of the plant is expecting them to be successful.

Talks are underway on wage postulates forwarded by the crew of the construction-assembly plant in Paslek, coastal Poland. It is expected that an agreement will be reached on Thursday also in this plant.

A group of employees of "Agromet" in Malbork, northern Poland, quoting authorization from the whole crew, presented a list of postulates to the management demanding that they be reviewed till the end of this month. The suggestions concern a reduction of the administration by 20 percent, wage rises, dissolution of the workers council and new elections to it, and unification of time of startign work for all groups of employees. Among the postulates there is also a demand to put the technical division under the obligation to immediately start the production of melioration [as received] mowers and fertilizer distributors and to hold people responsible for the delay in its introduction accountable.

Following a dozen-so-hour stopage at the stitching department of the "Novita" carpet facotry in Zielona Gora, the second shift returned to work on Tuesday. The strike was suspended till mid-may. It was agreed that till that time possibilities of increasing wages will be reviewed with preference given to employees working on primary posts and people employed in the three-shift system.

The Presidium of the Council of the Nationwide Federation of Unions of Employees of Municipal transportation decided to stop the protest action started last week as of March 1. Chairman of the Federation Jozef Drukier who at the same time chairs the trade union of the Municipal Transportation Enterprise in Wroclaw, told PAP that the government side expressed readiness to start preliminary talks on applying a new economic-financial system in enterprises of municipal transportation.

Further on Strike Situation

LD2402005189 Warsaw PAP in English
2316 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 23—Talks continued today in some work establishments throughout the country aimed at solving dispues involving mostly pay raise demands.

Talks were conducted at the water supply and sewage system enterprise in Zary, western Poland. The personnel of the enterprise refuses to make any emergency repairs but tap water is being supplied and the sewage system operates as usually.

The occupational strike at section number 1 of the domestic trade transport enterprise in Lodz ended, after a dozen or so hours, when its personnel came to terms with the management on pay claims.

The crew of the ship equipment factory Remor at Recz, western Poland, and the management of the factory today were engaged in pay negotiations.

The strike at the motor industry works Polmo in Szczecin ended in an agreement.

A strike alert was declared today at the garbage collecting enterprise in Szczecin.

Strike alerts and protest actions continued today at a number of work establishments in the tri-city of Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot.

The personnel of the state farm in Pruszcz Gdansk today discontinued the protest action and resumed work after talks with the management.

Roundtable Opponents To Meet 25 February

AU2402135389 Paris AFP in English
1311 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Feb 24 (AFP)—Opponents of talks between the government and Solidarity will meet Saturday in the first rally by foes of the moderate course steered by the banned union's leadership, informed sources said Friday.

A statement by the organizers of the Katowice meeting called on Solidarity militants to reject any "pact" with the government to solve Poland's economic and political crisis. Analysts said the meeting could pose a serious threat to Lech Walesa's leadership of the opposition movement. Mr Walesa started roundtable talks with the government on February 6, but the organisers' statement said the only way "to establish a full-fledged democracy" was to topple the Polish Communist Party "monopoly."

The opponents' convention in the southern industrial city was to adopt "a joint plan against totalitarism", coordinate activities and give support to future social discontent, the communique added.

Andrzej Gwiazda, the head of the Solidarity current opposed to cooperation with the government, said he will attend the meeting.

Authorities have banned the rally and arrested three leaders of the outlawed Polish Socialist Party's (PPS-RD) who planned to attend the meeting. They include Jozef Pinior who was arrested at his home in Wroclaw, 170 kilometers (105 miles) northwest of Katowice. He is among the staunchest opponents of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa's cooperative stance.

Wroclaw police also arrested PPS-RD chiefs Andrzej Kowalski and Robert Kazimierczak. The meeting was organized by groups within the PPS-RD, the pacifist Freedom and Peace (WIP) movement, and the Independent Students' Association (NZS). Members of the young radical workers of the Gdansk Lenin shipyard (DYM), a joint Warsaw strike committee (MRKS) headed by Krzysztof Wolf, and Solidarity-Combat, a dissident Solidarity group which will not exclude violence to achieve political goals, also plan to attend the Katowice meeting. [passage omitted]

Roundtable Subteams Continue Meetings, Debates

Team on Amending TU Law Meets

LD2402023689 Warsaw PAP in English
2117 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 23—Vice-Minister of Labour and Social Policy Leslaw Nawacki told PAP in the wake of today's meeting of the working group for amending the law on trade unions that a progress had been made as to the question of registration of a union which would embrace employees of various work establishments.

"We also tried to make a critical analysis of regulations rationing organizational structures of trade unions. We still have to work out a joint stand which would determine issues concerning a whole crew or part of it, and which would involve a joint representation of trade unions before management. This package has not yet been settled and I think it will be subject to further negotiations," Nawacki said.

"The working group did not discuss the question of collective disputes and broadened possibilities to form unions for those occupational groups which have not been permitted to do so thus far. These issues will be settled at a plenary discussion of the team for trade union pluralism," he explained

Balcer Chairs Law Reform Subteam

LD2302121289 Warsaw PAP in English 2223 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—The "roundtable" subteam for reform of the law and courts held another meeting today co-chaired by Lukasz Balcer and Adam Strzembosz.

The sides returned to the issue of the affiliation of judges to parties and other political organizations which surfaced earlier on. Strzembosz proposed that the party affiliation of judges be suspended during their terms. Jan Olszewski stressed that the present model of jurisdiction was shaped on the monopoly of one party. He added that in the case when courts are granted full self-government the maintenance of the activities of political organizations could lead to a kind of political bids, undermining confidence in the jurisprudence. Kazimierz Ruchala spoke in favour of a periodical vacationing only of people holding posts in parties and political organizations.

In light of the differences in opinions, the discussion on the matter was adjourned and both co-chairmen agreed that they would present an outlined stance to the co-chairmen of the team for political reforms.

Another topic of the debates was the role of so-called guidelines for jurisdiction and legal practice determined by the Supreme Court. In Janusz Trzcinski's opinion, if one were to acknowledge that the guidelines are of a normative character, they should be forwarded for assessment by the constitutional tribunal. Zofia Wasilkowska proposed to lift the binding force of guidelines at all and accept that they solely have a value of nonbinding recommendations.

Buchala pointed out that under the constitution, judges are subordinate only to laws and in cases of collisions with the provisions of laws, courts can forego the use of guidelines. He at the same time spoke against determining penal policy with the assistance of guidelines for jurisdiction. In the end it was agreed that guidelines for jurisdiction and legal practice should change and be transformed in accordance with the regulations of the Constitution so as not to breach the judges' independence.

In the context of the principle of the tri-division of power, the participants in the meeting also discussed the role and functions of the prosecutor's office. In the name of the Solidarity-opposition side, Strzembosz upheld the postulate of subordinating the prosecutor's office to the Ministry of Justice. Such a position of the Prosecutor's Office would give the government and therefore the executive power, the possibility of bearing through law suits an impact on sentences passed down by courts.

The change of the position of the Prosector's Office among state bodies by subordinating it to the minister of justice would make it possible to concentrate its activities above all on traditional tasks of the prosecutor's Office associated with the pursuance and supervision of penal proceedings.

Second Law Reform Meeting

LD2202131989 Warsaw PAP in English 2106 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—The roundtable subteam for reform of law and courts held its second meeting here today, with Lukasz Balcer and Adam Strzembosz in the chair.

Lukasz Balcer suggested that the team should focus on the independence of the judiciary and on issues related to the functioning of judges' self-management. Adam Strzembosz proposed to introduce the principle of tripartite authority which would involve, among other things, appointment of a supreme council of the judiciary and a change in the hitherto system of nomination of judges, a postulate for judges giving up their political functions while performing professional duties and the groundness [as received] of the justice minister taking over the powers of the prosecutor-general.

Following Balcer's proposal, members of the team unanimously came out for lifting the hitherto principle of terms of office binding on Supreme Court judges. Unanimity in this matter was regarded as a good forecast for the team's further work.

Zenon Jankowski, speaking about the need to broaden the guarantee concerning the independence of the judiciary, determined that consolidation of such a guarantee is possible and that it is linked with an increased authority of the judge. At present, courts are not entirely independent from executive authorities, he said, pointing out that the current law safeguards the right to indicate nominees for judges' posts.

Therefore, if one is to speak about the judiciary as about the so-called third power, then one should seek ways and means of making the courts of law fully independent from executive organs of the state. Jankowski expressed the view that nominations for judges should in the future be entrusted to the president who would have a specially appointed council for the judiciary. Judges' self-management should also constitute a better safeguard for the independence of the judiciary. The speaker polemized with the view that judges should not simultaneously perform functions in political organizations. He said it would be more appropriate for them to give up professional duties while performing political functions.

The above address was regarded as a proof of sides represented in the team agreeing on many important matters. The sides polemized, though, on how to restrict the possibility to recall a judge.

Lukasz Balcer said work is underway aimed at strengthening courts of the first instance and creating district courts which would only rule on appealed cases. Thus a chance would also emerge to strengthen the activity of judges' self-management in big organizational units, that is, courts of the first instance.

Next the discussants dealt with the guarantee of the permanency of a juridical post, the right of the juries to independently direct questions to the constitutional tribunal. They pointed to the problem of citizens' broader access to courts.

The independence of the judiciary—the participants said—is also connected with the question of regulations which have the character of so-called general clauses.

On a number of occasions the discussants raised the question of political disengagement of judges, proposed by certain members of the team as a guarantee of their independent rulings.

During the meeting, as it was pointed out by Lukasz Balcer, the sides considerably approximated their views on such matters as the guarantee for an "appropriate performance of juridical duties," the mode of judges' nomination or conditions for a full materialization of the independence of the judiciary.

The team resolved to resume work on February 22.

Balcer on Law Meeting Results

LD2202145289 Warsaw PAP in English
0042 GMT 22 Feb 89

[By Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—"During today's meeting of the subteam for reform of the law and jurisdiction, one felt among all the participants a striving to agree upon joint stands," Minister of Justice Lukasz Balcer, representing the coalition-government side at the "roundtable" talks, stated today at a press conference.

This trend resulted in agreement on stands on the issue of doing away with the terms of judges of the Supreme Court, abrogating regulations on personal affidavits, and on the need for changes in the field of appointing judges. "On the other hand, we have not yet reached agreement on the affiliation of judges to political parties and the tri-division of power. These matters will be discussed at the subteam's next meetings," Balcer stressed.

Characterizing the government draft law on associations presented during the debates of the subteam for associations and local self-government, Vice Minister of Justice Jan Brol stressed that generally speaking the draft did not stir any basic objections. The biggest differences of opinion surfaced regarding issues of withdrawing so-called ordinary associations from the law and creating boy scouts organizations other than the ZHP Polish Pathfinders Union.

According to Prof Kazimierz Secomski who took part in the press conference, other issues arousing the greatest controversy during the debates of the subteam included the expeditious legalization of the NZS independent students' union and re-establishing associations dissolved during martial law as well as issues of the scope of operations of local self-government.

"During the second meeting of the working group for wage indexation, problems assessed during the previous meeting as difficult and controversial, turned out to be so," stated Jerzy Szreter, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. "Our chief problem is working out such a mechanism of wage indexation which would not constrain the independence of enterprises in the financial sphere, ensure the possibility of diversifying wages according to work contribution and at the same time not cause another wave of wage demands," Szreter stressed. "We have not been able to reach agreement on the matter. The discussion will be continued at the next meetings of the groups," he added.

Team on Farmers Union Meets

LD2302150789 Warsaw PAP in English
2058 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—The "roundtable" working group for a law on the unions of private farmers started working today. The group exchanged views on draft assumptions of the law, the work on which started under consensus on the countryside's trade union pluralism reached already earlier at the "roundtable".

After all-round discussion, the debaters agreed upon basic assumptions of the contents of the law. The assumptions will be presented to the "roundtable" team on trade union plural [as received] at its meeting on Friday February 24.

Science, Education Subteam Meets

LD2302150189 Warsaw PAP in English
2100 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—The roundtable subteam for science, education and technological progress met at its inaugural meeting here today, with Professors Jacek Fisiak and Henryk Samsonowicz in the chair.

The debate was opened by Jacek Fisiak who said that the key goal of the roundtable meetings was to seek answers to the question about the future of this country, society, nation, and in this concrete case, the future of Poland's national education.

The vision of a future school at all levels should be viewed through the prism of social, political and economic goals which we outline as a nation. We face the need to undertake new tasks stemming from the challenges of civilization and from our national ambitions, from the need to support and initiate sociopolitical and economic reforms.

Regrettably, progress is insufficient as regards the widespreadness of kindergarten education, full secondary education as well as higher education. Data shows that our position among other European countries is marked by a downward tendency. Hence the need of a thorough restructuring of our educational system, Fisiak said.

The critical assessment of education in Poland resulted in the appointment in 1987 of a committee of experts for national education which works on variants of restructuring in education and on its perspective model. Proposals contained in the team's final report will be presented for discussion still this year. The National Education Ministry has made a number of ad-hoc decisions which should create, already today, better conditions for children and youth's education. Such moves include increased independence of higher schools, especially as regards programmes and curricula, and a possibility of a considerable limitation of curricula-related requirements in primary schools. The process of socialization of school is continuing.

There will be fundamental changes in the teaching of foreign languages. Ventures are being undertaken with a view to improved living standards of people employed in the whole system of education. An initial draft law on higher education is expected to be worked out by mid-1990 at the latest.

Henryk Samsonowicz said the crisis of science and education is caused by three factors: deficit of material means, the absence of subjectivity for the teaching and the taught, and defective organizational structure. Without increased outlays for education, to reach some 7 per cent of the national income, without the average pays of the engineering-technical group being made equal to those of education employees the unfavourable situation is impossible to change.

One should draw means from reduced outlays for educational administration, one should set in motion mechanisms of tax policy which will get enterprises to subsidize education.

The second reason behind the bad situation in science and education lies in the dogmatic way of pursuing the personnel policy which has so far been consistently based on ideological and political priorities. Another question is the incapacitation of teachers which involves the school engrafting a so-called scientific view of the world which usually conceals very primitive materialism totally unrelated to the philosophy of materialistic type and collides with religious concepts adopted by the majority of society.

The speaker put forward a postulate to make organizational structures more flexible and to create conditions for developing various forms and institutions of learning, not only state-run ones.

Jan Zaciura, representing 650 thousand teachers grouped within the OPZZ, said that there are many problems to solve. Some of them should be solved quickly and firmly. Problems to be settled first include the question of teacher's education and their material situation. Equally urgent are problems of health care over children, youth and teachers.

Second Meeting of Ecology Subteam

LD2402044089 Warsaw PAP in English
0205 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—The subteam for ecology today held its second meeting under the chairmanship of Jerzy Kolodziejski and Stefan Kozlowski to discuss the postulates and proposals forwarded at the previous meeting.

These concerned such important matters as adopting the principles of ecopolicy and ecodevelopment as the leading concepts for the further socio-economic development of the country, and amending economic mechanisms conducive to environmental protection.

During the discussion, the differences between the sides mainly concerned cases of ways of implementing respective postulates rather than the proposals themselves. Consensus was reached regarding many of them.

The principle of an ecopolicy and ecodevelopment was adopted as concerns the restructuring of the economy and elaboration of regional concepts of ecodevelopment, basing on the scenario method, an assessment of the risk of environmental threat, elaboration of ecological variants as reference points to conduct an analysis of costs and expected benefits.

Concordant opinions were also expressed in reference to the need to modify the role and range of operations of the Ministry of Environment Protection and Natural Resources. It should cover a whole spectrum of natural environment protection including national parks and the Baltic Sea and fulfil a role of supervision and inspection for pro-ecological activities.

On the other hand, the proposal to attach all of forestry and spatial planning to the Ministry of Environment Protection aroused controversies. The problem will still be discussed in a special commission.

While discussing issues of carrying out a codification of the law on environment protection, the participants in the meeting stressed that the law on environment protection should regulate two aspects: relations between man and nature and relations between society and the environment.

Issues of natural environment protection should be a supreme factor because at issue is the common good. This view also pertained to the above mentioned problem of subordinating forestry to the Ministry of Agriculture.

Much attention was devoted to a determination of the role, tasks and organizational forms of state environment services, above all the state inspection of environment protection.

On the other hand there were differences of opinion as to the ways of implementing this goal. There was a proposal to subordinate the State Inspection of Environment Protection to the Sejm (parliament) and not the Ministry of Environment Protection and Natural Resources as has been the case so far. The sides agreed to discuss the matter within a commission set up by the subteam which will agree upon a joint stance.

A proposal of founding an ecological bank and fund for environmental protection was also reviewed. Consensus was reached on this matter too.

The problem of nuclear energy is one of the most controversial matters. It was decided that it would be discussed in a team of experts set up for this particular end.

The OPZZ Trade Union Alliance presented a different stance on the discussed problems.

Members of Health Team Listed

AU2302150389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Feb 89 p 3

[PAP report: "Composition of the Team"]

[Text] The "roundtable" health affairs team is chaired by Wojciech Guglas, Zofia Kuratowska, and Andrzej Wojtczak. The composition is as follows:

Gustaw Bokszczanin, Miroslaw Cybulko, Adam Czarnecki, Zbigniew Chlap, Maria Chmielowa, Marek Edelman, Anna Grajcarek, Wojciech Guglas, Anna Grzymislawska, Alicja Hilewska, Janusz Indulski, Lech Krawczyk, Zofia Kuratowska, Anna Kwietniewska, Maciej Latalski, Alina Nowacka-Waliszka, Barbara Nowikow, Janusz Opolski, Ryszard Seidel, Wladyslaw Sidorowicz, Joanna Starega-Piasek, Andrzej Sz czeklik, Antoni Trylski, Jerzy Umiastowski, Jan Waleczek, Leszek Wdowiak, Alicja Wlodarz, Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski, Andrzej Wojtczak, Ewa Wolak, Zdislaw Wojcik, Janina Zielinska, Jacek Zochowski.

PZPR Politburo Confers on Economy, Pluralism

LD2202112289 Warsaw PAP in English 2144 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—The PUWP CC Political Bureau today reviewed the socio-political situation in Poland.

The Political Bureau determined that it is absolutely necessary to consistently implement new systemic solutions of the economic reform and to win supporters for rational and effective moves, especially those aimed at countering inflation and increasing supplies to the market.

The Political Bureau also heard reports presented by PUWP delegates participating in roundtable teams and subteams. It was confirmed that the PUWP CC 10th Plenum's stand on broadly perceived pluralism is the basis for democratic reforms living up to the aspirations and the supreme interest of the nation.

Jozef Czyrek Interviewed on Plenum, Pluralism

AU2202152789 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 4 Feb 89 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Witold Pawlowski: "We All Had to Mature"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Pawlowski] Some people maintain that the 10th PZPR Plenum was an attempt to make up for 13 December 1981 and the dissolution of "Solidarity." What do you think?

[Czyrek] There is no reason to atone for 13 December. We always considered it the lesser of two evils. We were guided by the patriotic duty to stop a process that was leading directly to civil war, with the possibility of it spreading abroad. Please note the plenum speech by Professor Cackowski, who claimed that martial law even saved "Solidarity" itself. If a civil war or worse had occurred, "Solidarity" activists would not be partners in national accord today.

[Pawlowski] Of course, today one can imagine various possible scenarios of those times, including foreign intervention. But some people ask: What was the point of dissolving "Solidarity" if it is being restored today? What was the point of making Walesa a private citizen if his press conferences are even being shown on the television news? Why all the hostility of the past? Is an entire wave of such reassessments and settlement of scores in store for us now? It is as if those who were not on the political scene 7 years ago want to make up for their absence.

[Czyrek] No doubt there are such tendencies, and they may even increase among some circles and communities from time to time. One must counteract them. But I do not think they will dominate sociopolitical processes. We and the constructive opposition believe that Poland's future is more important than settling scores with the past. In order to achieve the present breaktthrough, we all had to undergo a maturing process, encouraged by the experience of the 1980's. So if anyone thinks that these are wasted years, he fails to see the essence of the changes.

[Pawlowski] We can imagine what trade union pluralism means. But what about political pluralism? There are also doubts about another concept that is used, socialist pluralism. What does that mean?

[Czyrek] The essence of pluralism is universal. Socialist pluralism means pluralism under conditions of socialism, nothing more. The difference between socialist pluralism and its equivalent in the Western democracies is based on a difference in rules, procedures, and mechanisms. Polish pluralism should be conducted according to the rules of the policy of dialogue and national accord, against the background of the constitutional principles and raison d'etat of our republic. That does not mean that disputes will disappear or the identity of the partners will be erased. It means the elimination of what Walesa himself called the danger of anarchization and destruction. [passage omitted]

[Pawlowski] In the party, you are responsible for international policy. I have heard that the Soviet and U.S. ambassadors have spent a lot of time in your office. Did their views on Polish affairs become less divergent with the passage of time?

[Czyrek] Yes, although the West's deeds lagged behind its words. Western discrimination has harmed and is still harming Poland. It is affecting Poland's development possibilities. The 10th plenum decisions are removing the final alibi of this discriminatory policy against our country. Of course there is not going to be a shower of credits or a new Marshall Plan. But that is not what we want. What we want are normal trade relations, normal conditions for economic cooperation, just like everywhere else in the world.

[Pawlowski] World reaction to the plenum decisions in Warsaw has been significant. Western reaction has been warm but incredulous; Moscow's reaction has been cautious but kind. Some of our neighbors remain silent, others are mainly expressing their doubts. The socialist countries have become divided. That is good, because differences of opinion are better than an artificial unity. But might not these differences become an obstacle?

[Czyrek] The differences within social and economic systems, even differences in ways of seeking new model solutions, are evident. No one is hiding them. They would be an obstacle only if they interfered with or harmed the development of bilateral relations in the sphere of joint defense, security, and cooperation. But that is not the case. I am convinced that practice, only practice, will be the final argument with which we can convince those allies of ours who have any doubts as to the feasibility of the Polish experiment.

Kwasniewski on Roundtable Pluralism Talks

AU2302172489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the government side of the roundtable team for trade union pluralism, by Andrzej Golaszewski: "We Want To and Must Implement the Reform"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Golaszewski] As the chairman of the government side of the roundtable team for trade union affairs, how would you assess the first 2 weeks of the "roundtable" talks?

[Kwasniewski] Of the three large "roundtable" teams that have met so far, ours is in the easiest position and, at the same time, the most difficult one; easiest because the decision in favor of trade union pluralism was, as we know, taken at the 10th plenum, and most difficult because we are considering how trade union pluralism should function so that all the rights of the trade unions are respected and, at the same time, all the mistakes of 1980 and 18981 are avoided. Apart from that, trade union pluralism depends on a consensus in other "roundtable" topics. I think we have dispelled many doubts over the past 2 weeks. There is less mistrust and suspicion between the sides today, and a greater readiness for compromise. That is very important. [passage omitted]

[Golaszewski] The talks by your team are taking place during a very complicated economic situation, accompanied by strikes in enterprises.

[Kwasniewski] The "Solidarity" National Commission's call for an end to strikes is a major event. It shows that the trade unions understand the seriousness of the economic situation and are able to practice self-constraint. However, we fear that some work forces might treat the "roundtable" as a screen for various claims, strikes, and protests. That would not augur well for the future. [passage omitted]

Of course, we want the "roundtable" to accelerate all the reform processes. This is possible provided that we do not act in a social vacuum; in other words, in a situation where we want to resolve major issues connected with the state, the economy, and democracy, but at the same time others think only about their own private interests and mutual prejudices instead of the state reforms, which we want to implement and must do so.

ZSL Representatives on Roundtable Panel Talks

LD2302105189 Warsaw PAP in English
0158 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—Representatives of UPP (United Peasant Party) CC for the "roundtable" talks, Presidium members and CC secretaries Bogdan Krolewski, Aleksander Luczak and Roman Szarek, CC Presidium member Michal Markowicz, Sejm deputies Maria Moskal and Emilia Pogonowska-Jucha, as well as Miroslaw Cybulko held a press conference here tonight.

While referring to today's debates of the "roundtable" subteam for science, education and technological progress, UPP's press spokesman Janusz Tarniewski said: "If we presume that Poland will be the citizens' state marked by diversity of political views and with the economy open to all equal-footed sectors, then also the education and upbringing of the young must be different from the present-day one.

"It is necessary to bring up such a man who will be open to and ready for cooperation, who will approve of and appreciate the values of other people. Thus, it is necessary to create such conditions which would guarantee a university graduate a due place in the social hierarchy, a job in line with his education and a decent pay for it," Tarnieski said.

While referring to the debates of the subteam for ecology, Jan Tarniewski said that bad, and in many regions critical, state of natural environment is a result of inconsiderate expansion of industry, urbanization, irrational exploitation of natural resources but it also results from the short-sightedness, stupidity and arrogance of administrative and economic authorities of all levels, he added. For many years, warnings voiced by ecologists have not been given appropriate consideration. Even today the law protecting natural environment meets with disregard which can be proved by incidents when plants switch off electofilters or dispose of their waste water at night. Meanwhile, adopted programmes are either not implemented at all or their realization is many years late, as in cases of building water treatment plants.

Answering the question concerning the possible change of the party's name into PSL (Polish Peasant Party), SL (Peasant Party) or Polish Peasant Party Centre, Bogdan Krolewski said that in its almost 100-year-old tradition, peasant movement had gained rich experience both as concerns the consolidation of national existence as well as everything that links our people since regaining independence. However, taking into regard all the changes and reevaluations which are taking place in our country we think that to be satisfied over the fact that we pursue the programme of UPP adopted in 1984, is too little.

"The most important thing is to make our peasant party a national one. In advance of the prospective 40th anniversary of unification of the peasant movement, while taking all this into regard we want to look at the UPP programme and its ideological declaration in a new, comprehensive way. In this context we also perceive the matter of the change of the party's name. Of course it is a secondary thing as the most important are, as I have already mentioned, the ideological declaration and the ideas which we want to fill with our everyday work," Krolewski said.

Pax Spokesman Views Roundtable Panel Talks

LD2302115989 Warsaw PAP in English
0252 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—Stanislow Wlazlo, the press spokesman for "Pax" association for the "roundtable" conveyed the following statement to PAP:

The course of the first session of the subteam for science, education and technological progress arouses justified optimism as from the very begining the sides presented convergent views as to the principles, lines, and motives of reforms. Additional satisfaction stems from the fact that they are in tune with the ideological-and-programmatic assumptions of the recent resolution of the main board of the "Pax" association concerning national education.

Representative of "Pax" Jarzy Marlewski had to undertake polemics with delegates of opposition and "Solidarity" who many a time formulated a postulate that school should be neutral in its outlook on life and as concerns ideology. If school is not only to teach but also to educate, its work must be marked by ideological values and those pertaining to the outlook on life—"Pax" is of the opinion that binding should be principle of pluralism in the outlook on life without granting privilege to any of them and the principle of education in the spirit of toleration and dialogue. The discussion was domininated by voices speaking in favour of such an attitude.

Walesa News Conference on Government Offer

LD2302231589 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] The situation in the country and public moods—those were the subjects of Lech Walesa's news conference in Gdansk.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] At a meeting in Lodz yesterday, you said that the authorities made such an opening that it sucked you in and amazed you. I'd like to ask which specific actions by the authorities you were thinking of.

[Walesa] All topics—from kindergarten children through trade unions, political associations, nonpolitical associations of all types, to elections and to seats in parliament, inclusive. That has never happened in this system and in this country. With total openness, with total politeness, with a full if you please. What do you mean? How far do you want to go? That has never happened—at least I don't recall it. Maybe in the 1940's, when I was still in diapers, maybe it was so then, but since I became politically active I have never seen such a thing, such a strange thing. That's why the people were amazed, too.

Why am I traveling around Poland? Because I am asking, pleading, explaining that there are many opponents of the reforms; that many people see that this Poland is changing and has to change. Some people only see their own tiny little interest and obscure national solutions with this little interest. They want to spoil the reforms for us, reforms which are vitally necessary for the country. [end recording]

Walesa Speaks to Newsmen on Trade Union Talks

LD2302232689 Warsaw PAP in English 2223 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Gdansk, Feb 23—Lech Walesa held a press conference in Gdansk today for Polish and foreign newsmen.

Most of the questions put by journalists focused on the stance of "Solidarity" towards the elections and the future of the trade union movement in Poland. Walesa termed the former subject as interesting. We are interested in democracy and decent elections. I hope that these elections will lead us to greater democracy. As a union we should be apolitical. We should not take upon ourselves political obligations because everyone wants the trade unions not to be political, Walesa said, elaborating: I want our union not to be political but as a Pole, seeing how much the authorities have opened up I cannot for the first time find arguments for a boycott. I have always boycotted. I have almost never been to the voting booth. Perhaps once, when I was 18 to show that I was that old. Afterwards I did not take part. At present there is such a broad opening up on the part of the authorities that we do not know what to do. We are simply not prepared for this, Walesa said.

Walesa also expressed a hope that the Poles would jointly, including all sides of the "roundtable", work out a good electoral law, good freedom solutions and that the greatest possible number of people would endorse this.

One of the questions was whether sooner or later one had to arrive at joint forms of organizing oneself in cases where there is trade union pluralism. I have done and do this, for which I have received blows from one and the other side. That is why I am confirming this, in the name of our trade union, plant reasons, in the name of family reasons, in the name of Poland. We must agree. I have no doubts as to this. This is the time for washing the dirt, for a common confession and after confession there should come about absolution, Walesa said.

Walesa also said that there were many opponents of reforms. Many people see that Poland is changing. Some are only looking at their small interest and set this small interest at odds with national solutions. They want to break the reforms which are needed by the country, he said.

Walesa's Krakow Visit, Public Address Reported

AU2302143689 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 19 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Lech Walesa in Krakow"]

[Text]

In Mistrzejowice

For the thousands of people gathered outside the church of St. Maksymilian Kolbe in Nowa Huta, Thursday, 9 February, was a particularly festive day. After 6 and ½ years of regularly attending holy mass every single Thursday in this church, these masses being devoted to the Fatherland and "Solidarity," the congregation at last witnessed an event that symbolizes an emergence from the "underground." The event was the arrival of Lech Walesa, who began a tour of all [Solidarity] regions from here.

Long before his expected time of arrival, the square below the church and the steps leading up to it became crowded with people. Flags and banner were unfurled. There were dozens of press, radio, and television crews.

Inside the crowded church, near the alter, the banners of "Solidarity" and of the Spiritual Mission of Steelworkers were set up. Key activists of our region were present, including Mieczyslaw Gil and U.S. Consuls Michael Barry and Steven Blake. The 10 priests who jointly celebrated mass under the leadership of Father Henryk Jankowski included a Hungarian clergyman, a Benedictine from Gyoer. After Father Kazimierz Jancarz had warmly welcomed all the faithful, both guests and local residents, a short welcoming speech (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, and No 44, Item 204) was made by Stefan Jurczak, who remembered those who "gave their lives" so that "Solidarity" might live.

The service was a patriotic one, with the singing of the national anthem at the beginning and "God Save Poland" at the end. Father Jankowski delivered a sermon, and said prayers for the victims of the recent anonymous attacks and beatings in Nowa Huta and for the souls of Zbigniew Szkarlata, who died in unexplained circumstances 3 years ago, and of Fathers Stefan Niedzielak and Stanislaw Suchowolec. There were also prayers for a successful outcome of the "roundtable" and for a fulfillment of the hopes vested in it. After the mass, there was a short ceremony in which Lech Walesa was made an honorary member of the Steelworkers Union.

Lech Walesa thanked everyone for enduring the 7 difficult years. He also said that he was talking to people in order to derive strength from their wisdom at an important time for Poland. "Poland belongs to all of us, and not to some party, generals, or the SB [Security Service]." Poland's present condition is scandalous, and has to be changed forthwith. The "roundtable" seems to offer certain chances for peaceful changes, a reconstruction of the ruined country, and a settlement of fundamental affairs of Poles in a civilized manner and at the lowest cost to society. One must not waste this opportunity, despite society's enormous mistrust.

Then there was a long series of questions addressed to (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, and No 44, item 204), to which he replied calmly and frankly, sometimes with humor, but always with a great sense of responsibility. This lasted over 1 hour. He was asked about the possibility of free elections in Poland; the purpose of strikes in the present situation; the prospects for abolishing the nomenklatura and overcoming inflation; the military and Interior Ministry budgets; and what Walesa thinks of the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland], the working group of "Solidarity's" National Commission, and attitudes and orientations that are more radical. Various internal union problems were touched upon, especially problems with organization. He was also asked to intervene among the authorities concerning specific cases of persecution and injustice. A statement by a certain party member came as a surprise. This party member asked: "Can I count on you and your organization for understanding and forgiveness?" "There is room for everyone," Walesa replied, adding: "We will make sure no one causes us to disintegrate from the inside."

Walesa warned against illusions: "Right now there is no opposition group capable of running the country in a responsible manner." In the name of common sense and supreme values, he called for an end to strikes, to which, he said, everyone has the right and for which everyone has a justified reason, even the right to commit desperate deeds. He pointed out that he was not allowed to drag anyone into strikes.

In a nutshell, in Mistrzejowice Walesa once again provided evidence of his restraint and political caution. He presented himself to the workers as one of them, someone who knows well and understands their problems and is open to all information, suggestions, and other stances and opinions. At the same time, as a charismatic leader devoid of demagogy and unwilling to deceive his audience, he displayed the courage to propagate and defend unpopular and unpopulistic ideas, and to make high demands of people.

The Bishopric and the University

On the second day of his visit to Krakow, Lech Walesa and his entourage were received by Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, bishop of Krakow. (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, and No 44, Item 204) held a 45-minute talk with the bishop. Next, Lech Walesa attended a meeting in the hall of the Collegium Novum of the Jagiellonian University, where a large audience of academic staff, representatives of the Independent Students Union, and invited guests were waiting for him. Outside the hall there were crowds of people for whom there was no room inside, mainly young people. Welcomed with loud applause, (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 3—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, and No 44, Item 204) stressed that he would like to make the most of his meeting with the academic community.

Both in his short introduction, and in his replies to questions from the audience, Lech Walesa's encouragement for society to organize itself spontaneously resounded strongly. He said that the basic purpose of the "roundtable" is to create the possibility for a future emergence of all kinds of structures consisting of various communities, groups, and individuals, whose objectives might create a modern, democratic, wiser, and better organized Poland. He regarded the current political, economic, and trade union monopoly as the source of the present crisis. The pluralism that is being broadly publicized today is meant to break this monopoly, including any monopoly by "Solidarity." Lech Walesa stressed that the present situation is particularly difficult, just like every period of transition is, and that the bonds of Polish democracy are still weak. Therefore, there is an even greater need for a joint search by us for ways out of the present situation, by means of dialogue.

Walesa asked for a direct conversation with his audience. He invited pointed questions and a presentation of problems. However,it seemed that he left the hall with a feeling of dissatisfaction, just like many members of the audience. There were few difficult questions. Most of the questions were straightforward requests, like: Mr Chairman, please remember; and Mr Chairman please ask. They were not in keeping with the purpose of Lech Walesa's visit, which was to ask people to have faith in themselves and in the structures they themselves had created, for these structures would defend them.

At the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY Offices

After the meeting at the Collegium Novum, Lwech Walesa paid a short visit to the offices of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, and No 44, Item 204). At the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY offices, Lech Walesa was met by editor in chief Jerzy Turowicz, who said that the TYGODNIK staff naturally joined "Solidarity" in 1980 because "Solidarity's" ideas were the same as the ones for which the TYGODNIK staff had always struggled. Turowicz said that thanks to "Solidarity," freedom of speech has grown considerably over the last 16 months. He ended with the words: "Thanks to your steadfastness, we are approaching the time when 'Solidarity' will re-emerge, a time when once again we will all be able to pin badges to our lapels and work together. We would like to thank you very much for this."

In reply, Lech Walesa said, among other things: "In fact, you did not join 'Solidarity' at all. You created it. After all, I learned patriotism from you." (——) [passage removed by censor] (Law of 31 July, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Item 6—OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 20, Item 99, amended 1983, and No 44, Item 204) shared his concern with his interlocutors, and said that he is afraid of provocation. He asked the TYGODNIK staff to help find proper solutions to the current tense situation caused by the collapse of the economy and society's impatience. "As my teachers, in fact, as our teachers, try to adapt yourselves to this role, so that we do not waste this Polish chance, however small and miserable a chance it is," said Lech Walesa.

Solidarity Officials Comment on Roundtable Talks

Adviser Jacek Kuron Interviewed

AU2302133789 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 23 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Solidarity adviser Jacek Kuron by Aureliusz M. Pedziwol: "'This time their stakes are much higher than ours...'"; place, date not given]

[Text] DER STANDARD: Mr Kuron, are you still optimistic after 2 weeks of "roundtable" talks?

Kuron: We have mapped out the field of joint goals and interests. This is quite a lot.

DER STANDARD: Stefan Bratkowski, the chairman of the banned journalists' association and a participant in the talks, told Radio Free Europe that he has repeatedly been confronted with total distrust among Polish society. Many people fear that the party might again find a loophole.

Kuron: Mr Bratkowski generalizes if he uses the word "total." A very small part of the population distrusts the authorities and has confidence in us, Solidarity. Another part, which is by no means small, distrusts both the authorities and us, and quite a sizable part is indifferent. These people just do not find time for sober political analysis in their daily routine. Finally, there are also people who trust the government.

It is true, however, that many impatient members of the opposition are distrustful. I think this is very good. At least, it is better than having illusions.

DER STANDARD: Let us now talk about the so-called "political table," the work of the subgroup to which you belong. Terms like "nonconfrontational" and "free elections" have been used recently.

Kuron: During our group's second round of talks, the government representatives or the side of the coalition, as they like to call themselves, stated that the next elections would be free and democratic, and that they are striving for a "new deal" which would be based on democratic institutions.

However, it is not declarations that we need. The opposition calls for the creation of mechanisms at this point that provide opportunities for all to organize themselves in various democratic institutions, including regional self-management, associations, and clubs. The institutions should be open to those who are distrustful, to those who have little confidence, and to those who are accusing us of having betrayed them through our talks with the communists. They should be open to all!

DER STANDARD: How can this be brought about?

Kuron: We need laws that guarantee civil liberties, and we need independent courts that protect the laws. We also need a new law granting the right to association and free access to the media.

DER STANDARD: What about the elections?

Kuron: We are ready to accept certain restrictions of democratic rights for a certain transitional phase. However, the elections must be much more democratic than previous ones. This includes, among other things, broad access to candidacy. The government is also going in this direction. It is questionable whether 5,000 supporting signatures, which are required for a place on the list of candidates, are too many. On the other hand, such a condition can also turn out to be advantageous because finding 5,000 people requires some organizational talent. One must not overlook the fact that Poland has no democratic tradition and that, if barriers break down, an avalanche might be set loose that stifles democracy.

The government's efforts, however, to anticipate the election results represent a real restriction. They say that the elections should be nonconfrontational. This means that there should be no competition. A total of 60 percent of the seats should be reserved for the party and its allies, the remaining 40 percent for the opposition. Such a restriction is only permissible if democratization is really initiated and continued.

DER STANDARD: In 1981 Solidarity rejected efforts aimed at "manipulating" it into the system. Now, the opposition wants seats in Parliament. It wants participation and responsibility...

Kuron: You want to say that Solidarity did not want to participate at that time, and that it wants to participate now?

The first statement is not correct. There was no situation when Solidarity wanted to avoid participation and, thus, responsibility. The problem was different: We knew that we had to assume our share of responsibility for the country's future, but we had no possibility of influencing the situation. The system had not been reformed and there was no willingness to reform it. At the time, the government suggested that we join some "facade institutions." That was all.

Today, however, there are no doubts that we are discussing a fundamental reform of the entire system.

DER STANDARD: So you are not afraid that the government wants to lead Solidarity into a blind alley?

Kuron: I cannot take this question seriously because in such a case the government would not only lead Solidarity into a blind alley but also itself, the country, all of us. I do not believe that anybody will commit suicide in such a perfidious manner.

DER STANDARD: The range of topics under discussion is very wide, and you have only 6 weeks time. Do you think that it will be possible to resolve all problems within this short period?

Kuron: Our agreement must include a whole package of measures. Both sides are aware of this. Everybody's stakes are very high.

But let us be frank: This time, the government's stakes are much higher than ours. We have not changed. The only difference is that we now talk in front of television cameras.

It is true that we have set for ourselves great tasks. We have already achieved quite a lot: the government has promised trade union pluralism, including a peasants' trade union! Sizable progress has been made concerning economic talks. Chances are good that an agreement will be reached on the topics "law and courts," "unions and associations," and "media." In each of the "tables," there are both agreement and contentious issues.

As far as time is concerned, we need not necessarily finish within 6 weeks. The world will not break down if negotiations take longer than 6 weeks. However, it is true that talks become more difficult the longer they take.

Vice Chairman Gwiazda Queried

AU2202120289 Vienna PROFIL in German
20 Feb 89 p 47

[Interview with Andrzey Gwiazda, vice chairman of the Solidarity trade union and leading representative of its radical wing, by PROFIL: "Dictator Walesa?"; place, date not given]

[Text] PROFIL: At present, there is much talk about changes in Poland? What is the real situation?

Gwiazda: We are witnessing an interesting process: The opposition, which so far has been persecuted as a whole, is starting to split into several groups. However, the population, just like the people in the West, has become accustomed to the uniform image of the opposition. This split which is presently showing in the opposition is a shock for the population. At present, a new group, let us call it a group of the center, is being formed in a part of the opposition and the so-called "reform wing" of the party. There an attempt is being made to understand one another and rule jointly. Of course, this cannot be achieved without anything in return for it. The communists do not give way, they are not simply ready for concessions. However, the communist economy is not able to meet the financial requirements in order to maintain and expand the systems. Because of these ideological and economic difficulties, the communists have decided to cede parts of the sphere of influence that has been reserved for them so far. They are ready to create some free space; in return, they want social acceptance and help for the implementation of their economic interests. This has resulted in a complete separation of the interests of the so-called "constructive" opposition, who wants to cooperate with the communists, from the interests of the society. Put in other words, these groups have to commit themselves to representing the communists' interests. That is, by replacing the communist propaganda, which the population ceased to believe long ago, by the opposition's propaganda. This is to stop the population from safeguarding its interest and to prevent unrest and determined steps which are aimed at maintaining the achieved standard of living.

PROFIL: What does the Solidarity trade union mean to you? Is there a split and if so, why?

Gwiazda: In the Solidarity trade union there have always been people from various political directions. After 1981, one of these political groups, aiming at joint rule, chose the way of coming to terms with the communists. By defending the communists' economic interests, this group has taken a course against the trade unions. This group, which is in favor of understanding, has to face the reproach that it did not brief the trade union members. They were still convinced that it was a trade unionist group which temporarily was not engaging in a fight for tactical reasons, in order to resume it at a more appropriate time. After 8 years, it has now become evident that this group is not interested in this at all. For a long time, it has not defended the interests of the society and the workers, although it has called itself trade union leadership. This has caused the present frustrations.

PROFIL: What would be your attitude toward the Solidarity trade union which Walesa now wants to legalize in return for certain concessions?

Gwiazda: In my opinion, what Walesa wants to have registered is no longer the Solidarity trade union. In his television discussion with Miodowicz, chairman of the official trade union, he himself said that it will be a completely different Solidarity and that completely different people will participate. He also stated in public that we would agree to higher working standards or longer working hours. He also said that we are ready for "additional sacrifices," which can only mean a further reduction in the standard of living and additional price increases. However, this also means that such an organization is no longer a trade union which represents the working people's interests.

PROFIL: What should people do who expect a revival of the old Solidarity from the new Walesa trade union or who want a powerful new trade union to be established?

Gwiazda: I believe that such a trade union will be established in any case, regardless of whether a group makes an official decision or not. I believe that the trade union has become more mature since the introduction of martial law. However, on the other hand, we are witnessing a surprising development: the population's complete lack of interest in the talks at the "roundtable."

PROFIL: Democratization, a certain degree of capitalism, and a free market are now propagated as the way out of the crisis. What is your opinion on this?

Gwiazda: The idea of democracy was already buried at the preparatory meetings for the "roundtable." The group of the so-called "citizens' committee"—which, of course, was not freely elected but appointed—agreed to this undemocratic procedure, in order to take deputies of the "constructive opposition" into parliament in this way. This constitutes the negation of the idea of democracy and freedom. These ideas were compromised by Walesa who aspires to a dictatorship. He openly admits this. He stated at the latest meeting that he does not consider the introduction of democratic procedures and submission to democratic decisions. Since the introduction of martial law in Poland in 1981, the idea of anti-democracy has been practiced here. All leading Solidarity organs are not elected, as provided for by statute, but nominated.

Spokesman Onyszkiewicz Comments

LD2202160989 Warsaw PAP in English
0103 GMT 22 Feb 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak and Jaroslaw Szychlinski]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—Having ended their today's [as received] work in subteams and working groups of the roundtable, spokesman for the opposition-Solidarity side Janusz Onyszkiewicz and its negotiators who had taken part in the work of particular bodies met newsmen here today.

Characterizing the debates in the subteam for wages indexation, Irena Wojcicka stated that the opposition side is upset by the course of the negotiations. Having accepted the subject at the plenary meeting of the roundtable, the government side backed out today of the planned indexation in the non-budgetary sphere questioning the justifiability of undertaking such an operation, she said.

Co-chairman of the subteam for the reform of jurisdiction, judicature and law Adam Strzembosz stated that he is very much satisfied with the debates. Lifting of judicature of the Supreme Court judges, freeing judges from the authority of the minister of justice, the prime minister and the Council of State and subjecting them to a supreme judge council, possibly to be created, have been accepted, Strzembosz said adding that the sides agreed that judges should not fulfil party or political functions.

Stanislawa Grabska and Jerzy Regulski presented the results of work of the team for social pluralism, associations and territorial self-government. Two aspects of the associations' issues were considered, Grabska said, namely, the legal one and the aspect of the existing facts. On the other hand, the barriers in functioning of the territorial self-government concern the ideological matters, ways of exercising power by the PUWP, fears of democracy and the hegemony of the administration, Regulski stated. Our chief guiding principle is to restore an authentic self-government, he added.

Answering PAP questions on the place of the military chamber of the Supreme Court and its authority over civilian people, Strzembosz said that the problem was not discussed today although the opposition-Solidarity side assumes the stance that the courts martial should be deprived of the powers given them after December 13, 1981.

Poll Conducted on Economy, Legalizing Solidarity

AU2302182889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
20 Feb 89 p 5

[Report signed "tst": "Concerning Attitudes, the Marketplace, and 'Solidarity'..."]

[Text] The latest opinion poll conducted by Polish Television and Radio's Center for Public Opinion Research indicates that there have been no significant changes over the last few moths in the state of public opinion or the degree of confidence in the authorities.

Asked to predict how the standard of living would change over the next 3 years, 29 percent of respondents said that it would improve, 36 percent said that it would remain unchanged, and 26 percent said that it would deteriorate (9 percent had no opinion). The level of public optimism/pessimism has been about the same for the last 3 months.

Sixty-one percent of those polled expressed confidence in the Sejm, 51 percent expressed confidence in the government, 26 percent expressed confidence in the PZPR, and 75 percent expressed confidence in the Armed Forces. Thus, there have been no significant changes in this respect since November 1988.

Only 4 out of every 100 Poles described the economic situation as good, whereas 95 described it as bad. The supply of foodstuffs was described as poor by 57 percent of respondents and as mediocre by 30 percent, with only 10 percent describing it as good. The supply of manufactured goods was viewed even more critically, with 82 percent describing it as poor and 60 percent saying that they found the lack of goods more troubling than a lack of money; a minority, 31 percent, were of the opposite opinion. This provides a very telling picture of our view of the state of the marketplace.

The results of the opinion poll with regard to the question of reactivating Solidarity are extremely interesting. Whereas in May 1988 34 percent of respondents believed that Solidarity should be reactivated (36 percent said "no"), currently 78 percent are in favor of its reactivation and only 8 percent are opposed (14 percent had no opinion) to such a move.

However, this latest opinion poll has revealed that those who support the idea of reactivating Solidarity are divided into two groups. According to some (36 percent of respondents), Solidarity should be legalized without any conditions and as quickly as possible, whereas according to others (42 percent of respondents), "Solidarity should be legalized, but on condition that it accepts at least the main proposals submitted to it by the authorities."

These are the conditions that, in the opinion of respondents, a legal Solidarity should fulfill:
—contribute to efficient, productive work—90 percent ("should not accept this condition"—2 percent);
—strictly observe the provisions of the Constitution—72 percent ("should not..."—11 percent, no opinion—17 percent);
—should not organize and support illegal strikes and demonstrations—58 percent (28 percent);
—should not accept money from foreign states and organizations—45 percent (34 percent).

What effects might the legalization of Solidarity have?
—57 percent believe that the economic situation will improve ["deteriorate"—4 percent, "remain unchanged"—21 percent);
—58 percent believe that social frictions and conflicts will decline ("increase"—10 percent, "remain unchanged"—21 percent);
—19 percent said that they thought that Poland's relations with the socialist countries would improve ("deteriorate"—10 percent, "remain unchanged"—52 percent);

So, with the exception of the last question, the predominant view is that the legalization of Solidarity would have a positive effect. However, it should also be stressed that while expecting Solidarity's legalization to produce positive results, the majority of respondents linked this to Solidarity's pledge to satisfy the conditions that have been submitted to it.

Two opinion polls conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center (on 12-13 December and on 6-7 February) contained the following question: "Would you join Solidarity if it were to become a legal union once again?" Two months ago, 32 percent of those polled said that they would join a legal Solidarity union, and in February of this year 29 percent said that they would. Most of those who said that they would join the union were skilled workers (49 percent), especially young ones (61 percent of those in the under 29 age group). Those least likely to join were farmers (24 percent) and older people (13 percent in the over 60 age group).

In recent months there has been a clear increase in the number of Poles who believe that goodwill exists on the part of both the authorities and the opposition in efforts to reach an accord. So we find that 56 percent of respondents in the February poll said that the two sides were making equal efforts to achieve an accord (no more than 2 months ago this was believed by 34 percent of respondents; incidentally, it is interesting that the number of people who have no opinion on the subject has fallen from 19 to 12 percent).

Predictions concerning the outcome of the "roundtable" are generally optimistic: 62 percent of respondents believe that the authorities and the opposition will achieve an accord (17 percent said that they did not believe this will happen, and 21 percent have no opinion).

Rakowski Comments on Solidarity, CEMA, Reform

*LD2402000289 Warsaw PAP in English
1926 GMT 23 Feb 89*

[By Boleslaw Ciemniakowski and Jaroslaw Szychlinski]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 23—A two-day economic seminar for foreign journalists started at the "INTERPRESS" press centre here today. The event is attended by nearly 60 newsmen from 20 countries.

The seminar will focus on new conditions of economic activity by Polish and foreign bodies after the enactment of new laws, and on Premier Rakowski government's economic policy.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski met with the seminar participants before noon today.

In reply to a question about elections in Poland and the freedom of elections, the prime minister said that there are various kinds of free elections. In Poland—he said—we will strive for their maximum democratization.

Addressing the question of legalization of Solidarity Rakowski said that he differentiates between re-legalization and legalization as does Solidarity at present. Re-legalization means restoration of the organization's shape of the years 1980-81 when Solidarity regarded itself as a social movement. Today we speak of legalization of a trade union movement.

Answering a question about the influence of the Polish experiment on the development of the situation in other socialist countries, the GDR and Czechoslovakia in particular, the prime minister said there is no doubt whatsoever that developments in Poland have an effect on societies of other socialist states. However, we are not going to exert pressure on other countries.

Asked about a possible influence of the office of president on reform's success in Poland, Rakowski said the idea to establish such an office is not new in this country. It has been discussed for several years. If it is to strengthen the authority, then one should bend to the idea.

Expressing his opinion about the approach of Solidarity and the government to solutions proposed at the roundtable with regard to economic problems, Rakowski said that every idea, every concept must be confined to reality, for concepts departing from reality fail to contribute anything. And Polish reality means among other things a 40-billion-dollar debt, shortened working week, lack of raw materials, obsolete machines and equipment.

Speaking about differences within the CMEA community, the prime minister noted that the next few years will not see the CMEA integration process bringing results which might satisfy CMEA states. It is due to economic, political and historical reasons that the integration does not become a fact—Rakowski said. He added that the notion of integration must not be confused with that of cooperation.

Asked to comment on Lech Walesa's stance on strikes Rakowski said: "I think that this stance is positive." The premier added that there are a few strikes now underway in Poland and that they harm the favourable political infrastructure created thanks to the roundtable. These strikes are unfavourable for the Polish economy. One should not reach for the "strike pistol" at present, the prime minister said.

One of the question concerned a possible contradiction between the government forcing reforms and the roundtable participants asking just what reforms are to be forced. Premier Rakowski answered that the government could not take a holiday for the duration of the roundtable talks and wait for their results. The opposition formulates various economic concepts. If these assume the form of concrete proposals, the government will be the first to opt for their implementation. If the opposition accompanied by the government are capable of solving the debt problem, nothing better can happen, Rakowski said.

Rakowski Speaks on Roundtable at OPZZ Meeting

LD2402040189 Warsaw PAP in English
0210 GMT 24 Feb 89

["Rakowski's Speech at OPZZ Meeting (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 23—I hold the view that the "roundtable", that is— an attempt to include the opposition into the new social order, was and is a must. By deciding to hold the "roundtable" we simply confirm the facts existing in Poland. So I will continue to be an advocate of the "roundtable" viewed as an attempt to reach an agreement among different forces in this country.

However, this does not relieve me of holding a critical approach towards some phenomena either taking place at the roundtable or acompanying its debates. Is there any danger that the debates will fizzle out? To tell the truth, every politician must taken such an option into account. However, I am convinced that some degree of agreement will be reached. This does not mean we shall enter an idyllic time. I am of the opinion that in the ranks of the opposition there lingers on a desire to win such conditions which in the long run would lead to a change of the political system (in this country-ed.), Rakowski said.

The opposition creates impression that up till now we have remained in some monstrous political obscurantism, that we have thought neither about the present nor the future. It creates impression that only opposition can change these allegedly decaying and obsolete structures.

We, that is the PUWP, have been reforming the socio-economic system for years and we are not going to allow a group of intellectuals deciding about the "Solidarity"'s image to snatch this obvious truth from us.

The opposition raises objections against me and formulates bluntly that Rakowski's government wants to anticipate events and results of the roundtable. The government, Dr Bugaj stated, aspires at creation of the greatest possible number of the accomplished facts, especially in economy.

What would it practically mean if I succumbed to such accusations(?) We would have to announce vacations for the state, vacations for the authority and wait for a still undefined conception to be worked out.

Unfortunately, I see reflections of 1981 in it when efforts of the whole opposition focussed on the tightest possible hampering of the government. If today the intentions of the people from opposition are similar, I want to state that they should not count on my yielding to such demands.

I see the reflection of 1981 also in the demands to institute social inspection, which means that the government should dance to the "Solidarity"'s tune. Well, in a civilized country the social supervision is exercised by the state constitutional bodies. I am not going to permit impeding the government in its every move.

I cannot recall a strong power in our country throughout last several hundred years of Polands history. Each authority was instantaneously weakened and with great efforts. We all know the results of this. I am afraid we are coming back to such doings.

When one reads some publications or listens to some statements, one is amazed how often and how many old views that sometime ago led to Poland's downfall are re-hashed. I will confess sincerely that sometimes I stand helpless in front of such harassment of the authorities. At moments, I am seized with horror about the direction in which we go as society.

Rakowski stressed emphatically that he was an ardent advocate of the "roundtable" debates, on one condition, if everything is based on realism. If proposals are not real, if they are not based on honest analysis of the situation, these are only empty words.

Still one week or two weeks of strike alerts and strikes, and the dream about the reform and about the possibility to control economic processes will end. This will be the end and I do not want to think about what will be next.

The attitude of Western states towards Poland has been changing slowly recently. Over the three weeks, I met President Mitterrand twice and he promised to advocate Polish cause in the Paris Club. If instability progresses in Poland and if strikes and strike alerts increase, let us not count on any change in the Wests policy towards us, which is so necessary.

In conclusion, I wanted to say a few words about relations between the government and the all-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ). I would like these relations to be a possibly lasting marriage. I want to say openly that I would like the trade unions represented by the OPZZ to be a durable support for the government.

OPZZ Reacts, Comments on Roundtable Discussions

Council Calls for Support

LD2302235989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] The OPZZ Council has adopted a statement which reads as follows:

The only way out of the crisis is a radical change in the current economic system. Work must produce high quality output and the economy must constitute an iron rule of rational management. The OPZZ Council calls on all sections of the union movement to support at the roundtable the just demands for an improvement of working conditions and peoples' living conditions. Taking account of the exceptionally difficult situation in the country, the OPZZ Council turns to all union organizations, provincial state administrative bodies at all levels, institutions, and administrative offices, and calls on them to undertake all possible activities with the aim of removing the difficulties of daily life that are the source of conflicts.

The council states that the basic tools of the union movement in the struggle for workers' interests are collective work agreements and enterprise collective agreements. The OPZZ Council simultaneously expresses itself in favor of the development of all social organizations, associations, and political clubs for the democratization of sociopolitical life, and the strengthening of individual rights in accordance with the experiences of the civilized world. Union pluralism without a democratization of political life, which means the creation of new political movements, introduces into work enterprises political struggle in the most brutal forms. We feel that a revision of the law on trade unions should take place with the participation of all trade unions, after the shaping of their structures and representations. The realization of trade union pluralism should take place on the basis of joint representation with regard to all levels of the economic and state administation.

The OPZZ Council assures that it will cooperate with all social forces for the good of the working people. The OPZZ Council feels it necessary to state that the union movement representing 7 million members is limited in its equal participation in the work of the roundtable. This is also witnessed by the numbers of OPZZ representatives in the deliberations of particular teams. The OPZZ Council has once more requested a wider representation of the views of its representatives in the mass media.

The OPZZ Council recognizes as necessary the undertaking of activities favoring the maintenance of social calm. In work enterprises where workers' interests are infringed, it is appropriate to avoid work interruptions. On the other hand, all efforts should be undertaken so that conflict situations be resolved through negotiation, accords, and compromise. This principle should oblige through the whole period of coming out of the crisis and not just during the deliberations of the roundtable.

Objects to Science Team Conduct

LD2302150289 Warsaw PAP in English 2248 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—An unpleasant incident took place in the subteam for science, education, and technological progress, said the spokesman of the All-Poland

Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), Frantiszek Ciemny, opening a press conference today attended by OPZZ representatives in the mentioned rounttable subteam and in the ones for ecology and the reform of the law and jurisdiction.

When an OPZZ representative had been suggested for one of the said subteam's co-chairmen, Solidarity sharply protested. Ciemny explained that OPZZ represented in that forum 650,000 members of unions of Polish teachers, therefore it was a total misunderstanding to pretend that the organization was not entitled to representation. Pluralism is being quoted all the time but when it comes to concrete acts dictating begins, the spokesman said.

A representative in the subteam for science, Jan Zaciura, informed that OPZZ's stand on education is such that a vision of an entirely modern school should be elaborated. In order to create such a school, the outlays for education from the national income to be distributed should be raised to 7 per cent (last year the outlays amounted to 4.7-4.9 per cent), material and social status of teachers should be improved, and schools should be granted freedom to carry out their own experiments and research.

A representative in the subteam for ecology, Krzysztof Andrzejczyk, announced that ecological issues should be considered, according to OPZZ, in two fundamental groups: the most urgent problems and the systemic problems. The most urgent problems could be solved in part by observing standards of emission, halting the intake of waste from abroad, reducing the export of ecological equipment, and entering into bilateral contracts pertaining to frontier zone pollution. As for the systemic questions, Andrzejczyk said that the very structure of Polish industry posed a threat. It is necessary to introduce regulations of eco-policy into all laws related with the environment. Andrzejczyk disclosed that 10 Polish cities were on top of a world list of the most polluted cities.

Speaking on the OPZZ's stand on the question of political non-commitment of professional judiciaries, Bronislaw Miszczyk from the subteam for the reform of the law and jurisdiction said that OPZZ generally is against infringing the freedom of judges. In case of any professional judge's appointment to any political party authorities, they should be obligated to suspend the performance of their job.

Executive Committee on Talks

LD2302115189 Warsaw PAP in English
0230 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—At its meeting here today OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) Executive Committee assessed the work of its representatives in the "roundtable" debate.

The committee approved of the stances represented by OPZZ delegates. It was pointed out, however, that mass media in an inadequate way informs public opinion of the stances and activities undertaken by representatives of OPZZ. It was said that the fact inspired concern of the trade union activists.

Later, members of the committee discussed the ways of protecting natural environment in Poland from industrial discharges brought from abroad. OPZZ is at one with the Wildlife Protection League and the Polish ecological movement and protests against turning Poland into, as it was termed, the scrap-heap of Europe.

The chairman of union deputies' team was charged with asking a question during a Sejm meeting concerning the realization of the resolution of the Council of State of last April committing the Ministry for Environmental Protection and Natural Resources to check regulations concerning ecology. The stance adopted during today's meeting moved a motion to amend the law so that acts of polluting natural environment would not longer go unpunished. Those who pollute must be charged with appropriate sanctions, the statement said.

Later, members of the committee were briefed on the system negotiated by OPZZ which is meant to protect work crews of liquidated or redeveloped work establishments. It was said that after three-month talks, the government met all the postulates tabled by OPZZ.

Chairman Miodowicz Queried

AU2202152389 Prague PRACE in Czech
20 Feb 89 p 3

["From" an interview with OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz and OPZZ press spokesman Franciszek Ciemny by Richard Pokorny and Jaroslav Mazal: "Social Demagoguery Is No Program"—place, date not given]

[Text] The Czechoslovak public, too, attentively follows the contradictory domestic political developments in the PPR. What is the OPZZ's stance on the open problems of the Polish present and the ongoing "roundtable" talks with the representatives of the Polish opposition forces, and on what basis is it possible to achieve progress in the policy of nationwide understanding? We spoke about this and other issues with Alfred Miodowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and OPZZ chairman, and Franciszek Ciemny, press spokesman for the Polish trade unions.

[Question] What response have the "roundtable" talks met with among the Polish working people?

[Answer] Public opinion polls have revealed that the Polish public does not think that the "roundtable" talks can markedly improve the complicated economic situation and the social conditions of the majority of people any time soon. The main thing that interests them is not the "roundtable," but—to put it simple terms—their own table, the standard of living of their families. Inflation continues at a faster clip than the second stage of the economic reform envisaged. In our view, the way out of the complex economic and social situation must be sought through a constructive dialogue on the broadest possible social basis, that is, with those opposition forces and groups which respect the PPR Constitution and do not strive to dismantle the country's socialist foundations. We welcome all honestly meant alternative proposals aimed at nursing the Polish economy back to health and at improving the social situation of the broadest strata of the Polish working people. Therefore, the OPZZ was also pressing for a constructive exchange of views with the representatives of the nonlegalized "Solidarity," which maintains—why, is another question—in the same way as, for example, the church traditionally does, an influence over a considerable segment of the Polish population. Our standpoint was unequivocal: If the dialogue with the opposition forces is conducted on a serious and constructive basis, if there is no lack of goodwill and willingness, also on the part of the other party, to eliminate tension and aggravated conflict situations, it will possible—by seeking common ground and by a democratic unification of views—to make progress.

[Question] Why did the OPZZ favor the introduction of trade union pluralism when it formerly held a different view in that respect?

[Answer] In discussions conducted in the PZPR and the whole of Polish society, we have come to the view that the cause of the profound social crisis in the PPR is not the principles of the socialist system, but the retreat from these principles and weighty errors committed as regards their implementation. What Polish society needs most today are real results, that is, a tangible improvement in the living and social conditions of the working people and their families, arriving at a nationwide understanding on the basis of reforms, democratization, and renewal. The experience which we have acquired and the errors we have committed have taught us that common problems can only be resolved through common effort and by way of mutual compromises. In this context, we must also see the objective which the OPZZ has set itself for the "roundtable" talks and for its entire social activity in general—achieving national understanding as a firm and essential foundation for broadly perceived pluralism. This, among other things, also paves the way for the legalization of the Solidarity trade union organization. Yes, we are in favor of pluralism in trade unions, provided it does not become a phenomenon which could imperil the socialist foundation of the state and the economic reforms. The key conditions for the legalization of Solidarity—this, too, we said very clearly during the "roundtable" talks—is its respect for the constitutional and legal foundation of the socialist state.

[Question] Once before, "Solidarity"—this was attested to at the threshold of the 1980's—had already brought the country into a profound social crisis. Are there guarantees that such a situation will not repeat itself after its legalization?

[Answer] First, it will depend on the extent to which its leaders really have given up the former destructive political intentions, and how sincere and honest their interest is in the success of the policy of cooperation and understanding. Deeds and time will show this. Second, Solidarity does not constitute a compact social force. Various groups with an overt anticommunist orientation also identify themselves with it, groups which have influence—and this, too, has to be openly admitted—on a certain segment of youth, especially working youth. Some of these groups criticize the leadership of Solidarity, are against its participation in the "roundtable" talks, organize illegal protest strikes and street disturbances. Third, Solidarity leaders have been assuring the Polish public that they have abandoned the destructive political line which they were asserting at the beginning of the 1980's, that neither today nor in the future they will aspire to becoming an opposition political party. If its activity really develops in conformity with socialist pluralism and concentrates on protecting and defending the justified social interests and needs of the working people, this could benefit the subject.

[Question] How can it be explained that, after the woeful experience from the beginning of the 1980's, a certain segment of the Polish public hopes that the economic and social situation will improve with Solidarity's legalization?

[Answer] Solidarity still has not formulated a composite consolidation program from which it would be clear what concrete social objectives it sets itself and how it wants to implement them. The core of Solidarity's propaganda is improvisation, quickly formulated, attractive slogans which count on the political inexperience and immaturity of certain groups of society—that which is called social demagoguery. But this is not a program. It is impossible to continue presenting ever newer wage demands, extorting them with threatens of and the organizing of illegal strikes, and at the same time ignoring the fact that, if the inflationary trend is to be slowed down, any real wage rise must be accompanied by increased work discipline and, above all, by a growth in the productivity and quality of work, and the general growth of performance and the competetive ability of the economic base. Ignoring this interdependence leads to nothing positive. Fortunately, an ever increasing number of people are becoming convinced of what shaky legs the demagogic rhetoric of some Solidarity leaders stands on. An example: Whereas there are 24,500 trade union organizations in the PPR that are affiliated in the OPZZ, the so-called founding committees of Solidarity exist only in 300 enterprises. That shows you something. However, the fact is that Solidarity receives considerable resources for its propaganda from abroad, a matter which is not without effect in the sphere of social activity. If Solidarity is really to fulfill a genuinely positive function benefiting society under the conditions of trade union pluralism, it must step before the public not with cheap slogans and demagogic promises, but with a well-thought out, really concrete program for resolving the open problems—in accordance with the mission and social function of trade unions in a socialist state.

[Question] To which topical problems does the OPZZ today pay attention in talks with the government and other partners?

[Answer] There is a long list of them: For example, the working conditions in many enterprises and plants are often dismal from the viewpoint of safety, hygiene, and protection of the working people's health. Therefore, in our talks with the government we emphatically demanded measures which, without a big additional investment, could help to speedily rectify the situation. The situation in housing construction is sad, too. The government has proposed further reducing the volume of housing construction. In negotiations with the government, the OPZZ is very hard when pressing for seeking ways and possibilities to accelerate and expand housing construction. We have submitted to the government a worked-out proposal to reduce taxes to enterprises which give preferential treatment to housing construction in their development plans. Also here a little step forward has been taken, even though the housing problem in our country will also remain acute in the years to come. The pace of inflation, is also a cause for alarm; it remains a potential source of great social conflicts and convulsions. The OPZZ presses for having wages and remuneration in harmony with the creation of resources, and for having wage policy rules enshrined in collective contracts between the management of an enterprises and the trade union organization. In this field, too, the OPZZ has been developing exceptional activity which is frequently opposed by the management of enterprises—also because a number of enterprises are not clear regarding this year's plan, they do not know the tax indicators, and so forth. These and other problems, connected—for example—with the so topical retraining of the working people as a consequence of the gradual phasing out of unprofitable productions, must be, so to say, resolved as we go. This, too, we see today as being one of the key tasks of the constructive OPZZ trade union policy, which—without big words and attractive slogans—wants to responsibly and reliably safeguard the real needs and class interests of the Polish working people.

Spokesman Ciemny on Pluralism

LD2202143789 Warsaw PAP in English 0037 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 21—All sides involved reached agreement on the possibility to constitute by means of single legal act trade unions and their supra-factory structures, which is important especially for Solidarity, said OPZZ spokesman Franciszek Ciemny who reported on today's roundtable talks at a press conference here.

Controversy continues around the problem of mixed union representation in the enterprises. The OPZZ is of the opinion that there should be an obligatory clause concerning mixed representation of various unions because that would better protect against bidding of claims. Such a representation would more efficiently defend the vital interest of worker crews.

Pluralism, OPZZ representative at the subteam for the amendments of the law on trade unions Anatol Wasiliew said, cannot be a goal in itself but must serve for better work of the unions to the good of working people.

There is convergence of views on most of the issues related to the reforms of courts, said OPZZ representative at the subteam dealing with this subject Bronislaw Miszczyk. But the opposition clings to a view that judges should belong to no party. That would limit their civil freedoms, Miszczyk said. The sides agreed however that judges cannot hold party functions.

The OPZZ expressed the opinion that society must not be misinformed that indexation of wages will produce complete and automatic balancing of the living costs as Solidarnosc maintains, OPZZ representative at the subteam for indexation Stanislaw Wisniewski said. Other problems must also be considered, such as price movement and taxes. The OPZZ unionists have reached agreement with Solidarity that temporarily, before indexation starts working, some form of allowance for higher costs of living should be applied. The OPZZ motioned to cover with indexation also disability and old age pensions, which has not been done by Solidarity side.

General Says Farmers To Receive Withdrawn Tanks

AU2302211089 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Feb 89 pp 1, 5

[Interview with General of Brigade Stanislaw Switalski, chief of the Tank and Automotive Service of the Ministry of National Defense, by S. Lukaszewski: "Military Vehicles—for Agriculture"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Lukaszewski] Agriculture is to receive military vehicles which the Army has withdrawn. Please tell me what your service intends to do with the tracked and wheel vehicles abandoned by the Army.

[Switalski] The changes in the Polish Army stemming from the present defensive military doctrine impose certain tasks on my service, for it is now necessary to withdraw some of the Army's materiel. The withdrawn materiel will be put to rational use. That means that we will sell various types of wheeled vehicles to customers in the national economy. We will also place the withdrawn tanks at the national economy's disposal, after they have been adapted.

[Lukaszewski] Can you provide any figures?

[Switalski] We intend to withdraw over 8,000 vehicles and trailers this year and next year. Apart from that, a considerable number of "Skot" armored personnel carriers and tanks will be withdrawn.

[Lukaszewski] What use are tanks in the national economy?

[Switalski] They will not be used as combat vehicles. Once the turret, with all the guns and special equipment, has been removed, one is left with the chassis of a very solid tracked vehicle, onto which various types of equipment can be fitted. So these tanks can be turned into bulldozers and excavators, as well as other types of vehicle. We are open to ideas. We have arranged for various enterprises to adapt the tank chassis for civilian use.

We believe that following the adaptations, tanks can be put to very good use in farming, forestry, road building, railroad rescue work, and mining.

While on the subject of an effective use of tank chassis, I invite enterprises to help us.

[Lukaszewski] Plenty of people will want a military wheeled vehicle. What if no one wants the tanks?

[Switalski] Then we will have to destroy them. However, because a tank contains so much valuable material, we will have to break them up and salvage the valuable portions. The armor will be destroyed by explosives.

[Lukaszewski] What about the "Skot" armored personnel carriers?

[Switalski] The wheels may be used for camping trailers. We hope to be able to save the engines, because they are the same ones used in the "Tatra 138" car.

[Lukaszewski] Let us return to the wheeled vehicles.

[Switalski] We plan to auction them off in two stages. The first stage of auctions would be limited to agriculture, and the second would be open to everyone.

[Lukaszewski] What do you mean by limited to agriculture?

[Switalski] It has been decided that anyone attending this auction should produce an identity card together with a tax document proving that he or she participates in agricultural activity.

[Lukaszewski] Has it been decided where these auctions will be held?

[Switalski] Yes, in Szczecin, Kolobrzeg, Torun, Elblag, Pila, Opole, Wroclaw, Rzeszow, Lublin, Krakow, Poznan, and Warsaw.

[Lukaszewski] When?

[Switalski] They will begin in March. First we will auction mobile repair workshops. Later, we will put up materiel for auction as soon as it has been withdrawn.

[Lukaszewski] How will the auctions be publicized?

[Switalski] First of all, we will advertise the auctions in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI and GROMADA-ROLNIK POLSKI. Later we will present more detailed information. News about the public auctions will be carried in the local press.

Official Bread, Flour Prices To Rise 20 Feb

AU2302121289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Prices of Bread and Flour To Rise"]

[Text] A PAP journalist has been told by the Finance Ministry that official retail prices for bread and wheat flour will be increased on 20 February 1989. For example, the price of an ordinary loaf of bread weighing 0.8 kilograms will go up by Z3 (from Z46 to Z49). A kilogram of Wroclaw wheat flour will now cost Z75, that is, Z5 more. A kilogram of pure wheat flour will cost Z92, that is, Z8 more.

These increases will only partially offset growing production costs. Grain products will continue to be heavily subsidized. This year, subsidies for grain products will amount to about Z100 per kilogram.

Meat Prices Increase

AU2002164689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Increased Official Retail Prices of Some Meat Products"]

[Text] On 16 February, the official retail prices of some types of meat goes up. They include ham, sirloin, smoked veal, and smoked sides of beef and pork. The average price increase will be 8 percent. The price of 1 kg of ham will go up by Z120, that of a side of pork by Z140, and that of a sausage by Z140.

Further on Visit by Iranian President Khamene'i

Visits Social Establishments

AU2302140189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1214 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/2/1989—On Thursday, 23 February, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i of the Islamic Republic of Iran saw places of social and public interest and residential districts of Bucharest.

The guest was informed about the implementation of the vast programme of development and modernization of the Romanian capital. He saw some of the works carried on over the past years under the river Dimbovita complex development project, part of the package of measures pursuing the modernization of Bucharest. The Iranian president was also informed about the course of the works on the Bucharest-Danube Canal which will directly link the capital to the Black Sea.

The Victory of Socialism Boulevard was also seen the distinguished guest being shown the House of the Republic and other buildings of the architectural complex under construction in that part of Bucharest, illustrative of the scope of the works on the centre of the capital.

The president of the Islamic Republic of Iran went by tube from the University Square to the Aviatorilor Square, an opportunity to be informed about aspects related to the construction and the solutions adopted to build the Bucharest subway with the country's own forces.

During the visit President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i was highly appreciative of the programme of urban development of Romania's capital, of the outstanding achievements of architects and building workers, of the efforts made to continuously embellish the country's largest city.

On this visit the Iranian president was accompanied by Barbu Petrescu, mayor general of the capital, by other officials.

Tehran TV on First Round of Talks

LD2302182189 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1600 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] In the first round of talks between the presidents of the Islamic Republic of Iran [IRI] and Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu announced his country's preparedness for cooperation in Iran's reconstruction. We draw your attention to our correspondent's report from Bucharest:

The first round of discussions between the politico-economic delegations of Iran and Romania began in Bucharest under the chairmanship of the two country's presidents. In the course of these talks, Mr Khamene'i expressed his gratitude to Romania for its sincere and supportive stand toward the IRI over the past few years. He said: We share the same points of view on some global issues. With reliance on these, we will be capable of expanding the level of economic, cultural, and political cooperation between the two countries. The IRI president discussed the reconstruction period in the country, saying: We have named the postwar period that of all-encompassing reconstruction. No doubt the cooperation of friendly countries such as Romania will help us progress more rapidly along the path toward achieving the required necessities of our country.

The president referred to the common points of view between the two countries on international issues and stressed the need to decrease tension in the world. He said: In our view, anything that alleviates the risk of an outbreak of war in the world is desirable. From our point of view, the division of the world into strong and weak is cause for much concern. The small countries must abstain from joining with and falling under the influence of the superpowers. We consider cooperation between the Third World countries necessary in order to guarantee such a situation.

On his part, Mr Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated the common viewpoints between the two countries and remarked on Iran-Romania relations. He said: The capabilities of Iran and Romania from an economic point of view are such that it is possible to expand cooperation. We are prepared to play an active part in your country's reconstruction. Mr Ceausescu added: We are willing to sign long-term agreements on imports of oil and exchanges of technical know-how with your country.

In the first round of talks, it was decided to form joint committees on the basis of political, industrial, and technical issues to discuss and review ways of expanding relations throughout our president's stay in Romania. The results of these committees' work will be submitted in the next round of talks between the presidents of the two countries.

Meets With Ceausescu 23 Feb

AU2302175089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 23 Feb 89

["Romanian-Iranian Official Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/02/1989—On 23 February, official talks were held in Bucharest between President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Participating in the talks were:

For Romania—Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee, Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Gheorghe Paraschiv, minister of finance, Eugeniu Radulescu, minister of machine building, and other officials.

For Iran—'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs, Ma'sud Roghani Zanjani, minister for the plan and the budget, Abd al-Hoseyn Vahaji, ad interim minister of commerce, and other officials.

On this occasion, too, President Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed the official visit paid to Romania by President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, considering it to express the good Romanian-Iranian relations and the joint wish to develop further the collaboration both in the bilateral plane and in the world arena, for mutual benefit and for that of peace, international understanding and cooperation.

President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i thanked for the hospitality he is enjoying in Romania and for the chance to know the achievements of the Romanian people in point of the country's economic and social development.

During the talks the sides exchanged views on the current stage and the prospects of the relations between Romania and Iran. In this framework they pointed out that the Romanian-Iranian relations traverse a positive course, based on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs and mutual advantage. At the same time they stressed that there is a need for further action with a view to a still more sustained development of collaboration in the economic, technico-scientific and other planes, to intensify and diversify the commercial exchanges, setting out from the economic potential of the two countries, from the experience gathered in the joint development of industrial units.

The two presidents decided that during the visit the members of the two delegations, organized in working groups, should look into concrete ways and means to expand the Romanian-Iranian collaboration, according to the understandings reached at summit level.

Also approached were certain current questions of the international life. Special attention was paid to the problems regarding the implementation of disarmament, nuclear in the first place, to solving peacefully, by way of negotiations, the states of tension and conflict extant in various regions of the globe, to the eradication of underdevelopment and building a new world economic order and setting in a climate of detente, collaboration and peace.

During the talks the sides set forth the wish of the two states to collaborate more and more tightly in the world arena in order to make their contribution to solving, in the interest of all the peoples, the great problems of the contemporary world.

Ceausescu Hosts Official Dinner

AU2302194789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 23 Feb 89

["Official Dinner"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/2/1989—On 23 February, President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania gave an official dinner in honour of President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at the Palace of the State Council.

Participating were members of the State Council and the government, heads of central institutions and other officials.

Attending were the officials accompanying the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran on his Romanian visit.

During the dinner, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i made addresses which were followed with vivid interest and punctuated with applause.

'Text' of Ceausescu Speech

AU2402101989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 24 Feb 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 24/2/1989—The central Romanian press of 24 February carries the speeches that Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i made at an official dinner given by the Romanian head of state for the distinguished Iranian guest.

Following is the full text of the speech made by the president of Romania.

It gives me great pleasure to express, also in this format, satisfaction for your visit to our country, to warmly greet you, and make my best wishes to you, Mr President, and the other Iranian guests—in the name of the State Council, of the Romanian Government and people, and myself.

Your visit to Romania is an expression of the positive course of the relations between our two countries, of their common wish to take action and bring Romanian-Iranian cooperation up to the potential our national economies really have—especially in industry, trade, science and technology, as well as internationally.

During the talks we started yesterday we already came to the conclusion that we should step up our efforts to strengthen mutually advantageous cooperation and collaboration in forms apt to help the more intense development of the relations between our two countries for the good of our two peoples, and of the general cause of world progress and peace.

Mr President, as far as the international problems are concerned, the Romanian people is fully aware that its development programmes—like the programmes of all countries and all peoples—can be fulfilled only in conditions of peace and security, in a climate of confidence and cooperation among all nations. Wherefore, we pay great attention to international developments, actively promote a policy of cooperation with all the states of the world, without distinction as to their social system. We firmly set all our relations with other states on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

Last year there were a number of encouraging international developments, but the situation continues to be particularly serious and complex. There are strong political, economic and military contradictions in the world as a result of the continuation of the arms race, of the improvement and manufacture of new nuclear arms, of the conflicts and states of tension in various parts of the planet. The old policy of force and dictate, of interference in the affairs of other states continues and, as a result of the imperialist and neocolonialist policy, the wide gap between rich and poor countries has grown wider.

We consider that under like circumstances, a new thinking is needed in international relations, which should start from the fundamental issues of our epoch—a resolute passage to palpable measures of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, the rallying of all states' and peoples' efforts to check the dangerous course of events towards tension and war, to safeguard the nations' foremost right to peace, to life, to a free and dignified existence.

We are in all firmness for the concomitant achievement of nuclear and chemical disarmament, for the liquidation of all means of mass destruction. Furthermore, action should be taken to substantially cut back on conventional weapons, on troops and military spending.

President Nicolae Ceausescu went on to say:

Romania, as a European country, works for the building of a united Europe of free and independent states, for the broad and unrestricted development of collaboration and cooperation among all the peoples on our continent, which has a major part to play in the fight for disarmament,security and peace.

We militate actively for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration and good neighbourliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and of foreign military bases. We also support the creation of like areas in northern and central Europe, and in other parts of the world.

Romania has always stated firmly for the cessation of all conflicts and the settlement of litigious issues in various regions of the world by political means, through negotiation only, in the interests of the peoples in the respective areas, of international peace and detente.

We welcomed the cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq and we consider that everything possible should be done to come to understandings leading to the establishment of a durable peace in that area, putting the conditions in place for a free and independent development of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples.

We consider that all actions aimed at interference in the domestic affairs of states should be given up, that each people's right to choose its own economic and social development path, without any outside interference, should be unswervingly observed.

In the same spirit, we are for the calling of an international conference on the Middle East, to be attended by all the countries concerned—first of all by the new Palestinian state and by Israel—with a view to finding political solutions apt to provide for the independent development of all the states in that area in full security.

In consideration of the deterioration of the world economic situation, more particularly, of the continuous worsening of the situation of the developing countries, Romania believes an international conference on underdevelopment issues—including those countries' very high foreign debt—should be called, to provide for the establishment of a new world economic order, set on equality and equity, and favouring the faster progress of all states, of the ones lagging behind in the first place.

The settlement of the serious international issues call for the participation, with full rights, of all states and, more particularly, of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing and nonaligned countries, which are the majority of mankind and are vitally interested in a new, democratic policy.

We also consider that in the resolution of the problems of today's world an ever more active role should be played by the United Nations Organization and other international bodies.

We believe that although the problems in the international life are highly complex and serious, the progressive, realistic forces, the peoples everywhere can—by working in concert—change the course of events, impose disarmament and secure a new democratic policy of economic and social progress, of collaboration and peace.

In this spirit, we wish the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian people to cooperate actively with the Islamic Republic of Iran and with the friendly Iranian people—along with the other countries and peoples of the world—to solve the major issues that concern mankind, to secure peace on our planet, to build a better and more just world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu said in conclusion:

Trusting your visit to our country, the understandings and agreements we are going to make will be a landmark in the strengthening of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between Romania and Iran, I wish the friendly Iranian people progress, prosperity and peace.

To world peace and cooperation.

Iranian President's Address

AU2302205589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2008 GMT 23 Feb 89

["Address by President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/02/1989—In the address he made at the dinner given in his honour by the president of Romania, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i stressed that the relations between Iran and Romania have a long tradition and are based on the interests of the two peoples and states. The victory of the Islamic Revolution and the proclamation of the Islamic Republic—which put an end to the policy of dependence on the West and on the oppressing states—have widened the areas of collaboration between our countries and strengthened further the relations between them, said the speaker, while also considering that so far just part of the capacity of the two countries has been used and many possibilities still exist for the development of the bilateral relations.

Referring to the numerous visits paid by the political and economic authorities of the two countries and to the exchange of opinions on bilateral problems as well as to the intensification of the collaboration in international forums, the president of Iran said: It is worth mentioning that the economic exchanges between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Socialist Republic of Romania have doubled compared to the average rate scored prior to the Islamic Revolution. In his address, the president of Iran referred to the current political and economic situation of the world and to the relations between the big powers and the small and developing nations, to the existence of such "enormous injustice" as apartheid, the usurpation of Palestine and the system of plundering the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa. In his opinion, the structure of current international law has not managed actually to safeguard and conserve the rights of the third-world countries. We still witness, the speaker said, shortcomings in the regulations regarding banning aggression, regarding the open use of force in the international relations and in the regulations on banning the chemical arms as well as in the rules and definitions concerning the human rights and other aspects. Even now the world stands under the serious threat of chemical and microbe war, of destructive arms, as a consequence of negligence manifest by the powers and states which could have taken action. In our opinion one can no longer stay indifferent to such phenomena which exert a most negative effect and cause damages to the progressive peoples that wish freedom and independence.

President Khamene'i expressed the belief that the peoples and governments which manifest their full resolve to fight against what is evil, injustice and corruption may still have a hope in future. We believe in this struggle and are convinced that logical means have to be found to fight.

Showing that the supreme goal is the fight to improve the peoples' life, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i stressed next that the independent countries must collaborate and limit more and more the area of intervention of the big powers in their life and administration. In our opinion, the speaker said, Iran and Romania may stand out as an example of healthy collaboration between two independent countries.

Next, the speaker pointed out the goals of the Iranian Islamic Revolution, the events which occurred in the ten years since that event which was celebrated the previous week.

President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i expressed the opinion of the Iranian leadership as concerned the Iranian-Iraqi war, which caused heavy casualties and damaged numerous material and spiritual assets. The speaker pointed out that at present the revolutionary Iran started to set and pursue its independent goals and targets of freedom and, after ten years of effort and resistance, started its period of comprehensive reconstruction.

The acceptance of Resolution 598 of the Security Council by the Islamic Republic of Iran, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i said, is an effort towards establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We assure the international community that we are making every effort and make use of every possibility to establish peace and justice. To express our goodwill, as part of our collaboration with the UN secretary-general, we started to organize extensive diplomatic activities to confirm the action on the basis of the aforesaid resolution.

Concluding his speech, the president of Iran said: With contruction and peace in our country in the offing and in consideration of the friendship and collaboration between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Socialist Republic of Romania, I believe this is a favourable opportunity to further develop and expand our relations. I hope that these friendly visits will open further prospects to the collaboration between the two countries.

Rushdie Affair, Khamene'i Visit Elicits Reaction

Federal Chamber Requests Report

LD2302110189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—On its agenda for today's session, the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly has included, at the suggestion of several delegates, a report on the visit to Yugoslavia paid by Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i.

The Federal Chamber delegates have demanded a report on the official 3-day visit by the Iranian president, which ended in Belgrade yerserday, to be submitted by either the president, by one of the SFRY Presidium members, or by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The decision to have this issue included in today's agenda has been made by the majority of voters.

This addition to the agenda opened the Federal Chamber session, where the delegates should also adopt the conclusions about the Yugoslav program for Kosovo.

Loncar States Position

AU2302134089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade—During the official visit of Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i, Yugoslavia appealed to Khomeyni to withdraw his sentence on Salman Rushdie, author of the book "The Satanic Verses." This was what Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has told the delegates to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber. Loncar pointed out that Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati received the appeal with full respect and said that he will inform President Khamene'i and Imam Khomeyni about this.

Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, also touched upon this question during his talks with Khamene'i, and said that the sentence on Rushdie was not well received by our public, Budimir Loncar pointed out.

Iran Urged To Change Stand

LD2302225789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 23 Feb 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—Imam Khomeyni's call for the murder of Salman Rushdie, the author of The Satanic Verses, has been made from the religious standpoint is therefore irrelevant to state relations between Yugoslavia and Iran, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar stated today at the regular press conference in the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat. [sentence as received]

In talks with Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i, conducted in Belgrade, the Yugoslav side stressed the need for Iran to re-examine its stand because it affects negatively its reputation and creates an atmosphere of division, Loncar said.

Loncar also confirmed that Khamene'i was informed about unfavourable reactions in Yugoslavia and the world to the Rushdie case. The Iranian side accepted Yugoslavia's stand with respect as a well meaning gesture, Loncar stressed.

Specifying Yugoslavia's stand Loncar recalled that Khomeyni's statement has caused very unfavourable reactions worldwide, and Rushdie's book in Islamic countries. [sentence as received] We respect the right of people to read what interests them, Loncar said and added that Yugoslavia is a democratic country in which state and political organs must take the public opinion into consideration.

Loncar assessed that Khamene'i's visit was very useful and that it represents a strong stimulus to further cooperation, economic particularly, between the two countries.

Demand for Discussion Made

LD2302233789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1914 GMT 23 Feb 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—Yesterday's news conference of Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i, who payed a three-day visit to Yugoslavia, as well as Imam Khomeyni's recent death order against author Salman Rushdie, were in the focus of today's session of one of the two chambers of the Assembly of Yugoslavia, despite not being on the session agenda.

The delegates of the assembly's Federal Chamber demanded that the issue be put on the agenda and that they be informed in detail whether any conclusions had been reached on the issue during the official Yugoslavia-Iranian talks and if so, to state which conclusions had been adopted.

Delegates assessed in a previous debate that 'Ali Khamene'i's news conference yesterday "was unusual in many ways", because the Iranian president devoted his meeting with journalists to "vengeful tendencies against Salman Rushdie." The delegates consider that the Iranian president had abused Yugoslav hospitality.

The delegates were informed of the contents of yesterday's protest statement, put forth by the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, which sharply condemned Imam Khomeyni's order and said that international terrorism, and inciting and offering bounty for a crime is not the path of understanding among people.

In response to the demands of the delegates, Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar said this issue had not been avoided in the dialoge between the two sides. He said that during his talks with Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati he had appealed in the name of the Yugoslav Government that Iran consider withdrawing its death threat against Rushdie. The Iranian foreign minister received the appeal with "great respect" and promised he would convey it to President Khamene'i and Imam Khomeyni, Loncar said.

Loncar said the issue had also been raised during the talks between the two presidents, Raif Dizdarevic and 'Ali Khamene'i. On this occasion, Loncar said, Dizdarevic pointed out to Khamene'i that the death order against Rushdie had been very unfavourably received by the Yugoslav public.

Loncar assessed that the Iranian president (?had) voiced an opinion at a news conference that "was contrary to the usual norms of behavior in a third country."

Commenting on Imam Khomeyni's death order against Salman Rushdie at a meeting with journalists, 'Ali Khamene'i had said that "the target had been chosen, the arrow shot and was already travelling".

Writer's Group on Edict

LD2302163389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Khomeyni's order to Muslims of the world to kill Salman Rushdie is aimed at the best traditions of humanist thinking and behavior, says today's statement by the Yugoslav Writers Federation. It goes on:

The demand that the writer be killed because he thinks and writes differently from what his murderers want is a monstrous example of fanaticism and barbarity. The writers of Yugosalvia conceive the shot commanded as a shot at freedom of thought at the written word, and at the right of the individual to express himself in public and defend his convictions. A world in which such a command is issued and carried out is not a civilized world in which it is possible to live with dignity. We believe that Yugoslavia should not in any way be the last country to take an official stand on the threat to murder writer Salman Rushdie.

Papers Criticize Government

LD2402133689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1147 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav press commentaries today sharply criticize Yugoslavia for its practically neutral stand on the "Rushdie affair."

The affair has cropped up in the Yugoslav "courtyard" after Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i chose to reiterate in Belgrade that an "arrow had been fired" and was on its way to the author of "The Satanic Verses," a novel described by Iran as blasphemous to Islam.

The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI concludes that Yugoslavia is altering the principles of its external policy which has been the least in dispute in the nationally and religiously diverse and recently much divided Yugoslav community.

The daily asks how Yugoslavia can describe as friendly and close its relations with Iran which, by passing a death sentence on the British poet, has violated the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights and all other anti-terrorist acts adopted by international and Yugoslav organizations.

The only explanation, the daily adds, is that Yugoslavia agrees with Iran and announces that its laws can depart from the obligations it has undertaken in international legal and political institutions.

The daily recalls that there were situations when Yugoslavia knew how to express its disagreement with statements made by visiting senior officials of other countries.

In illustration, VECERNJE NOVOSTI recalls when former Yugoslav Foreign Minister Raif Dizdarevic banged his fist on the table at a press conference in Belgrade over a statement by his U.S. counterpart at the time George Shultz that the Palestine Liberation Organization engaged in terrorist activities.

The Zagreb daily VJESIK considers that Yugoslavia's mistake in the attitude towards Iran lies in that it did not clearly differentiate between state interests and the ethical and moral principles which constituted the basis for the condemnation of Imam Khomeyni's threat by the broadest international community.

The European Community has condemned the "arrow fired" at Rushdie but its firms will nevertheless shortly do business with Iran, VJESNIK adds.

The Rushdie affair is, in VJESNIK's view, characteristic of Khomeyni's political stance. Whenever the "cycle of the revolution" has ground to a stop, it has had to be put in motion again. Khomeyni has stayed in power precisely by provoking crises, tensions and scandals.

IRNA Reportage on Matter

LD2302172989 Tehran IRNA in English 1632 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 23, IRNA—"The statement made by Imam Khomeyni referred to religious and ecclesiastical matters and not to affairs of state. It is therefore irrelevant to state relations between Yugoslavia and Iran," the Yugoslav foreign minister said in Belgrade this afternoon.

Budimir Loncar was speaking to journalists on the Salman Rushdie affair, with reference to the recent visit by Iranian President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i to Yugoslavia. The presence of the minister, instead of the usual spokesman at the weekly Foreign Ministry press conference came as a surprise.

Speaking of the withdrawal of their envoys from Tehran by the members of the 12 member (Western) European Community, Loncar judged the action to be "serious." Yugoslavia believes in better relations between countries, he said.

Loncar evaded direct comments on Rushdie's blasphemous book, which has injured Muslim sentiments worldwide.

Yugoslavia has nearly four million Muslims, and Loncar merely noted two reactions to 'The Satanic Verses', one being the protest by Muslims throughout the world and the other, the Western reaction to this protest.

On President Khamene'i's recent visit to Yugoslavia, the foreign minister said, "had been very fruitful." [sentence as received] He also pointed out that even before Iran's acceptance of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598, mutual relations were improving.

"We have always supported Resolution 598 and wish for its implementation," Loncar said, adding that it was his hope that the Iran-Iraq peace talks would soon result in peace.

Kosovo Strikes, Reaction to Crisis Detailed

Presidency Issues Warning

LD2302193289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—The events in Kosovo are directly threatening efforts to stabilize political circumstances in this province and pose a danger with unforeseeable consequences. The SFRY Presidency, from a session of which the following statement has been issued, points this out:

"Today the SFRY Presidency considered the current political-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo. The Presidency stated that over the last few days a serious deterioration has occurred in the political-security situation in the SAP of Kosovo as a result of a refusal by the Trepca miners to leave the pits, in which they have remained following their work stoppage. This deterioration has been expressed in the cessation of teaching in many schools, and other forms of expression of dissatisfaction, or solidarity, with those who have stopped work.

In this situation the normal life and work of people, the work of organizations of associated labor, and the functioning of state organs and other institutions in the province is prevented, and intranational division, anxiety, and insecurity is being enhanced. All these events are directly affecting the efforts to stabilize the political circumstances in the province, are making the overall political-security situation in the country worse, and bear with them dangers with unforseeable consequences.

The SFRY Presidency points out in particular that an attempt is being made, through the work stoppages, the suspension of tuition, and other forms of expression of dissatisfaction, to influence the work of the system's institutions, especially in connection with the adoption of changes to the Constitutions of the SR of Serbia and the SAP of Kosovo. Together with the recently adopted changes to the SFRY Constitution, these changes are of vital importance for the changes in our society and should facilitate an emergence from the present difficult situation. These changes in no way threaten the principles of the Constitution, the position of the republics and autonomous provinces, or the equality of the nations, nationalities, and the federative system of our socialist self-managing community.

The SFRY Presidency warns that in the very difficult economic conditions, in which the working class and all working people of our country are investing great efforts and making large sacrifices in order to find a way out of the crisis and to implement the economic reform, any work stoppage and the losses incurred thereby are harmful.

The economic consequences of the present mass work stoppages in the SAP of Kosovo will initially hit the working class and the working people and citizens in this autonomous province, the material position of which is in any case very difficult.

As a result of this, the SFRY Presidency requests all working people and citizens in the SAP of Kosovo to halt their work stoppages immediately, to cease the protest gatherings and other forms of expressing dissatisfaction and mutual solidarity, and to return to their regular work and other duties, and to carry them out consistently, respecting public order, peace, and the established Constitution. The SFRY Presidency requests the organs of self-management, the managerial organs within organizations of associated labor, and assemblies and their executive organs and other state organs to ensure this by their full involvement and effective activity.

The SFRY Presidency warns that the continuation of this situation will lead to even more difficult consequences and a serious threat to public order, peace, and the established Constitution in the province, which cannot be permitted. The SFRY Presidency, in keeping with its constitutional and legal rights and obligations will adopt all measures established in the SFRY Constitution and laws to prevent this.

The SFRY Presidency has decided that the president of the SFRY Presidency, together with the president of the Serbian SR Presidency, shall leave for Kosovo and take part in the work of an extended session of the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo in order to mobilize all the organs of the province to implement these stands.

SFRY Assembly on Issue

LD2302224289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2012 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Yugoslavia today requested of the federal government within a month's time at the latest to establish which of its duties it has failed to carry out under the all-Yugoslav programme for overcoming the crisis in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and putting an end to the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from that province under pressure from Albanian separatists and chauvinists.

The federal legislature explicitly requested of the federal government to open proceedings for determining the responsibility of the federal bodies and organizations and those who head them for the failure to perform the duties deriving from the 1987 all-Yugoslav programme for Kosovo. In the conclusions it adopted today, the federal legislature recommended that the same be done by the assemblies of the six republics and the two autonomous provinces, especially the assembly of the Province of Kosovo.

The Assembly of Yugoslavia [words indistinct] chamber insisted that the Yugoslav Government as soon as possible decide on additional measures for the creation of the all-Yugoslav programme for Kosovo, in line with the constitutional amendments, economic and political reforms and the deteriorating inter-nationality relations in Kosovo.

The Federal Chamber obliged all competent state organs to ensure that the resources set aside for Kosovo from the federal fund for the underdeveloped parts of the country be spent for the specified purposes and to monitor the actual results achieved the province with the (?help) of the federal aid, which daily amounts to one million dollars.

The Yugoslav parliament demands from the federal government to establish whether the Yugoslav fund had been misused.

Despite a substantial material help, Kosovo has been for years economically the least developed part of Yugoslavia. At the same time Kosovo has the highest natality not only in Yugoslavia, but Europe as a whole. Its natality rate is also among the highest in the world. In view of the fact that this also steps up the process of (?impoverishment), while actual and efffective family planning measures have not been taken, it is demanded from the federal authorities to take steps as soon as possible aimed at preventing even graver consequences of the uncontrolled population boom.

It is demanded from the federal ministry of legislature to examine legal grounds for dismissing personnel members in Kosovo who are inciting national hatred and intolerance, from administrative, legislative and other state bodies and institutions in the first place.

Dizdarevic, Gracanin Dispatched

AU2302134489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Petar Gracanin, president of the Presidency of Serbia, will leave for Kosovo today in order to be given on-the-spot information about the current political-security situation in the province.

TANJUG has learned that Dizdarevic and Gracanin will have talks with the Kosovo leadership and will also meet representatives of some provincial collectives.

Dizdarevic, Gracanin Arrive

LD2302173289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Petar Gracanin, president of the Presidency of the Serbian SR, arrived together with aides in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. They will take part in the work of the expanded session of (?the Presidency of) the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Dizdarevic at Presidency Session

AU2302171089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Petar Gracanin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, are taking part in the work of an extraordinary expanded session of the Kosovo Presidency. The session is discussing the political and security situation in the province caused by the wave of strikes and protests by workers of Albanian nationality.

The introductory speech was made by Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Kosovo Presidency. The session is also being attended by Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the FEC, and Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Dizdarevic, Miners Meet

LD2402093789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0300 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, February 24 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Raif Dizdarevic met with representatives of the Trepca zinc mine here this evening to discuss the serious situation in Kosovo Province following a four-day strike of miners.

It was noted above all that the about 1,300 miners, whose strike in the mine's Stari Trg pit is in its fifth day today, should leave [word indistinct] so that their demands and problems can be discussed. This is also essential in order to prevent possible adverse effects to their health, which it has said could be very serious.

The mine representatives convey to President Dizdarevic the strikers' stances and demands, stressing in particular that the only condition for their leaving the pit and continuing talks was resignation of Kosovo party leader Rahman Morina.

From the beginning of their strike, miners of Albanian nationality in the Trepca mine are refusing to leave the pit until their eight-point demands have been met. The demands, exclusively political, include among other things the replacements of a number of top leaders in the Republic of Serbia and its Kosovo Province. Another demand is to retain the 1974 Constitution and not to change it in any way that could give Serbia—which besides Kosovo also includes another province, Vojvodina—full jurisdiction on its entire territory.

The miners' demands are backed by many other ethnic Albanians which has led to mass work stoppages in factories and schools.

President Dizdarevic denied claims that little care was being taken at the federal level about developments in the Stari Trg mine, adding that they were being closely watched and possibilities to help the workers sought. He pointed out however that to demand resignations in this way does not lead to any settlement of crucial problems. The greatest responsibility in this regard rests with the provincial leadership and the mine's management.

Taking part in tonight's talks in Pristina were also Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces General Stevan Mirkovic, President of the Presidency of Serbia Petar Gracanin and President of the Kosovo Presidency Remzi Koljgeci.

About 3,000 students of Albanian nationality are spending their second night in the 25 May sports hall, continuing their protests started Wednesday afternoon. In contrast with yesterday evening when more than 7,000 of them shouted "Trepca, Trepca," there are no shouts and ardent speeches tonight. It has been learned that the students do not plan to leave the hall until the miners have come out of the pit.

Health Officials Visit

LD2402094689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0904 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Stari Trg miners who have been occupying the pit now for 4 days were visited last night by Dr Janko Obocki, chairman of the Federal Health and Social Welfare Committee, and Dr Skender Bosnjak, chairman of the Provincial Committee for Health. They ordered additional measures to be taken for the provision of medical assistance.

Dr Skender Bosnjak told TANJUG that 150 miners have sought medical assistance, and that 16 miners are undergoing hospital treatment.

Strike Enters New Phase

LD2402111789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1034 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—The protest by more than 1,300 miners at the Trepca mine in Stari Trg, who for almost 100 hours have not come out of the mine, is entering, it appears, its most dramatic phase. The main demand of the miners has now been reduced to the resignation of Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Presidium. The miners have not dropped their other demands, but they have now focused on the resignation of Morina, and here they do not provide any reasoned arguments—only verbal political condemnation. [passage omitted]

In this atmosphere, seething Kosovo is awaiting the heralded visit by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Slobodan Milosevic, President of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. Raif Dizdarevic, despite his clearly expressed personal intentions, failed to contact the miners yesterday. The Trepca leadership said that the miners were too exhausted to come to talks.

Stari Trg Miners Refuse Appeal

LD2402124589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1225 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—TANJUG's reporters in the zinc mine in Stari Trg have learned that the miners have rejected the appeal of the heads of the Trepca Combine management board to leave the pits.

This appeal was sent by the heads of the combine during today's meeting with miners, who have been refusing to come outside for 5 days now. The miners are demanding a written guarantee that all their nine demands be met, not just the one for the resignation of Rahman Morina.

The miners—who are on the eighth level—have set an 18-hour deadline for their demands to be met. However, the majority of the miners—who are on the ninth level—think that a delegation, which would continue negotiations with the directors of the combine and leaders of the province, should be set up.

Suvar, Milosevic Visit

LD2302213989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1955 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Titograd 23 Feb (TANJUG)—This evening Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stated that Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, will visit Kosovo.

Talking this evening in Titograd at the tribune of the Marxist Center about the current sociopolitical situation in the country, Korosec especially reviewed the situation in Kosovo and assessed that the latest events confirm that the LC policy is being implemented slowly in this province. It is estimated that between 25,000 and 30,000 people are taking part in the strikes in almost all Kosovo municipalities. Korosec said there is every indication that these are well organized activities, activities the LCY Central Committee deems harmful and unacceptable. [passage omitted]

Suvar, Milosevic in Talks

LD2402111289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar and Slobodan Milosevic have arrived in Pristina, and immediately had a meeting with members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. At this meeting consideration is being given to the political and security situation in the province and the measures which should be taken in order to normalize the situation.

Morina, Suvar, Milosevic Meet

LD2402122189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—A meeting has begun in the Yugoslav People's Army Club in Pristina of the highest-ranking party personalities of the LC of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Kosovo with the political aktiv of the province.

Participating in this meeting are Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium; Rahman Morina, president of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee; Radisa Gacic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Ugljesa Uzelac, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Jurij Bajec, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

Several hundred citizens of Pristina have gathered around the Yugoslav People's Army Club, and when Suvar and Milosevic appeared sometime after 1100, a group began to chant "Slobo-Slobo" and another group replied with "Suvar-Suvar".

The meeting of party officials—whose arrival the Trecpa miners have been demanding for days—with the Kosovo political aktiv, was opened by Rahman Morina, who greeted the leading party personalities from Yugoslavia and Serbia. Right at the beginning of his speech, he drew attention to the dangeorus deterioration in the security and political situation in the province.

Kosovo Presidency Takes Stand

LD2302233989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Crotian 2232 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province (SAP) of Kosovo assessed the political and security situation after the latest events in Trepca as very complex, with possibilities of becoming more exacerbated. Such a situation, as noted at the Presidency session, visibly influences the further cooling down and worsening of intranational and interhuman relations, and if it continues, it can have serious and unforseeable political consequences not only in Kosovo, but in the whole country. This is stressed in the statement from the extraordinary expanded session of the Kosovo SAP Presidency which was held this evening, and attended by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency; Petar Gracanin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia; Janez Zemljaric, FEC vice president, and Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the General Staff of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] Armed Forces.

The intergral text of the statement from the session of the Kosovo Presidency reads:

On 23 Febuary in Pristina an emergency session of the Kosovo Presidency was held—chaired by President Remzi Koljgeci—in whose work participated Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, Petar Gracanin, president of the Serbian Presidency; Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the FEC, Col Gen Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the general staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, and other high-ranking officials.

The session analyzed the latest political and security situation in the province since the work stoppage and the refusal of Trepca miners to leave the mining shafts, as well as the situation in other numerous work collectives in the province, whose workers have also refused to leave their shafts as a sign of solidarity with Trepca miners.

The Presidium assessed the political-security situation following the latest events in Trepca as very complex, with the threat of further exacerbation.

Such a situation, the Presidium noted at the session, has an impact on the further cooling and exacerbation of intranational and human relations to a considerable extent and, if continued, it could have serious and unforseeable political consequences not only for Kosovo, but for the country as a whole.

The Presidency also noted that enemies of all colors, especially Albanian nationalists and separatists, will try to and tried to use gatherings and strikes of Trepca miners and other strikes in Kosovo for their own purposes. Thus, the Presidency sends an appeal to the working class of nations and nationalities, youth, and all citizens of Kosovo to express a high degree of awareness and to resolutely oppose all hostile and destructive forces, whose aim is to further destabilize the situation in the province and beyond.

The Presidency concluded that at this moment the most essential question of all progressive forces in the province and in the whole country, especially of working people in Trepca, is their sincere engagement in persuading the miners to come out of the mining pits. Their coming out of the shafts would enable a constructive dialogue about the posed questions, so that they could be solved within the legal institutions of our system, along the lines of the stands and conclusions of the League of Communists.

The necessity that leaders of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY and the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP, and the trade unions councils of Yugoslavia and Serbia be engaged in resolving this situation more than was formerly the case was especially noted.

The Presidency expressed the conviction that in these difficult moments for the future of the province and the country, the Trepca miners and the entire working class of our nations and nationalities will be able to, reasonable to, and wise to respond to the appeal of the top party and state leaders in the country and this Presidency to end the strike, whose continuation can have unforseeable political and economic consequences.

Taking part in the discussion, Raif Dizdarevic, President of the SFRY Presidency, stressed among other things that there have been too many analyses, stands, and conclusions on Kosovo and that action must now take place. These latest events, said President dizdarevic, indicate that the action was lacking.

Dizdarevic said that the SFRY Presidency assessed the latest events in Kosovo as threatening everything positive which was and is done for the stabilization of the situation in Moscow. He stressed that the normal production process in numerous organizations of associated labor is under threat and that the greatest damage will be suffered by Kosovo itself and all its working people and citizens.

The changes to the SFRY and the Serbian Constitutions must no longer threaten any of our nations of nationalities. On the contrary, stressed Dizdarevic, these changes are our desire to get out of the crisis and everything which is being done to jeopardize the realization of these changes is a step back into an even deeper crisis.

Working people in Kosovo should return to their regular duties in order to prevent the creation of a special kind of anti-Albanian and anti-Kosovo mood, because the entire country is putting aside funds for Kosovo. All the self- managing and management organs in organizations of associated labor and the assemblies with their executive organs are charged with maximum involvement for the continuation of production and the preservation of public peace and order in Kosovo.

President Raif Dizdarevic reiterated the SFRY Presidency stand whereby it will not allow the violation of public peace and order and the threatening of the constitutional system and, in keeping with its constitutional and legal rights and duties. It will take all the measures established by the SFRY constitution and laws to prevent this, it is stressed at the end of the statement from the emergency session of the Kosovo Presidency. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 2219 GMT 23 February reported: "Immediately after the end of the emergency session of the Kosovo Presidency, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received representatives of the Trepca combine and started talks with with them which are still under way. The miners' representatives briefed President Dizdarevic at the beginning of the meeting on the present situation in the Stari Trg mine in whose shafts 1,345 miners of the Albanian nationality have been on strike since Monday."]

Union Federation Speaks Out

LD2402002489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2001 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Trade Union Federation Council Presidium noted at this evening's emergency session that the situation with associated labor in Kosovo is extremely complex and difficult, especially in the Stari Trg mine. The Presidium noted that expressions of dissatisfaction such as those by workers of the Albanian nationality are harmful for both the political and economic situations. The Presidium stressed that the work stoppages and all forms of gatherings on a national basis are unacceptable.

The top leadership of the Kosovo Trade Union appeals to and demands from the Stari Trg miners as well as from the working class of all nations and nationalities—bearing in mind the complex state of affairs—to renounce further expressions of dissatisfaction and to prove in this way their orientation for Yugoslavia, for Tito's course, the brotherhood, unity, and equality of all nations and nationalities. The Presidium is united and determined in its attempts to persevere in the realization of the LCY tasks on Kosovo.

At the end of the appeal, the Presidium stresses as a positive move the fact that a number of workers in the province are returning to their regular duties, but reiterates that it is necessary for all workers to do so.

Kosovo Youth Make Statement

LD2402103189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0922 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—If the demand for the resignations of several leaders who have been criticized by name is a condition for the emergence of the Stari TRG miners from the mine, and the emergence of the miners is a condition for the cessation of the work stoppage and the boycott of teaching in the province, then we support this demand of the miners.

This sentence—worded in a most unusual way—contains the key stance of a statement issued today by the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation in connection with the most recent wave of strikes and protests throughout the province.

From the statement, one also perceives that the session of the youth leadership was held yesterday, and added to the key stance quoted above is the assessment that it was arrived at despite the fact that the young people "are against all forms of pressure and other noninstitutional forms of articulation of political demands".

Otherwise, as we are just learning—although the statement makes no reference to this—the assessment adopted, while it was being established, caused a complete polarization of the membership of the forum on a national basis. Members of the youth leadership who are not of Albanian nationality were categorically against this unconcealed offer of support to the aims of the organizers and supporters of the current strikes, but they remain in the minority. From what we have learned unofficially, resignations from among them have been heralded among the membership of the Presidium precisely because of this.

Vojvodina Unions Make Plea

LD2302173589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Summary] Novi Sad, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Vojvovina Trade Union Federation Council Presidium appealed to the working class and the Trade Union Federation of Kosovo to end the strike and continue production right away. The Presidium also noted that the strike was contrary to the LCY Central Committee stands and can only be interpreted as a premeditated attack on LC policy and on unity in Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Round-Up on Strike Situation

AU2302204889

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 23 February devotes almost its entire 55-minute newscast to reports on the strike situation in various communes and cities. Some are telephone reports from correspondents on the spot; others are read by studio announcers. Solidarity strikes appear to be in progress in all communes, involving not only industrial workers, but the transportation and service sectors as well. In Pec commune, 400 workers of the local agricultural complex are also striking. Despite a specific appeal made by the Stari Trg miners, the main protagonists in the current situation, there are numerous reports of work stoppages by secondary school teachers and boycotts of lessons by pupils. Seven thousand Pristina University students have also gathered in the University sports hall, refusing to attend lectures, "until the demands of the miners have been met." The students are also refusing to take food and have demanded the resignation of a university official, saying that he "does not represent the interests of the base."

Most reports from various communes also cite workers specifically supporting the demands made by the Stari Trg miners, including those for the resignation of Milosevic, as well as that of Rahman Morina and other named provincial leaders accused of being "responsible for the entire situation."

The following are some of the general demands of the strikers, as reported in a summing up of the situation by the studio announcer: "that the fundamental principles of the 1974 Constitution remain unchanged," "that an end be put to the anti-Albanian campaign by certain circles and individuals in the country," "that Rahman Morina, Slobodan Milosevic, Alia Sukriu, Musafedin Azemi, Svetislav Sekulic, and some other people responsible for the situation should resign." The announcer says: "According to the majority of the workers, the main culprit for the current divisions along national lines is Slobodan Milosevic."

A report on today's meeting of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia which, among other things, passed the proposed constitutional amendment, is followed by a report on the latest situation at the Stari Trg mine. A correspondent on the spot says that the situation is "very difficult" and that "1,200 miners are still camped in the galleries, after 4 days." Medical assistance has been given to 150 miners, while six others have been taken to the hospital.

A mine official is quoted as saying: "The miners are upset because none of their demands have been met." The reporter on the spot goes on to say: "The miners insist in their demands that Rahman Morina, Musafedin Azemi, and Ali Sukriu resign irrevocably."

A recording of an interview with a "veteran miner" is then broadcast. The following are some excerpts from the interview:

[Question] "You have been down there for nearly 90 hours, without taking any food at all. What happens next?"

[Miner] "Yes, we have been down in the mine for over 80 hours without taking any food or water. What we want is for our demands to be met: Rahman Morina, Ali Sukriu, Musafedin Azemi must resign; otherwise we stay down."

The correspondent then interviews a second miner:

[Question] "We have heard that one of your companions here has just lost his wife, but has refused to come out to attend the funeral. Is this true?"

[Answer] "Yes, it is true. I would like to say this now: All we want is for Rhman Morina to sign his resignation, and then let him go wherever he wishes. That's all there is to it. He has caused trouble throughout Yugoslavia and here in Kosovo, as well. In fact, he should be answerable in court for his actions. Some of the comrades here think that Slobodan Milosevic, must go as well. One may ask why he has been allowed to cause all this trouble here in Kosovo."

[Question] "What happens if your demands are not met?"

[Answer] "If our demands are not met, none of us will come up. We have all decided to stay down until our demands are met. We are aware of the economic and political consequences, but Rahman Morina does not enjoy the support of the workers class; he does not represent the workers class. How dare he insist on staying in his job? He should resign immediately. He is responsible. We know what the economic situation is like, and why. Yes, we know. One of our comrades hung himself not so long ago. Why? I will tell you: He could not feed his family, so he hung himself and left them behind. Are those people at the top aware of what is going on, or are they living in another world? Yes, they must resign immediately. In fact, more than that is needed. What is needed is that measures be taken against them; political measures should be taken against them."

The reporter concludes by saying: "As you have just heard, the miners were categorically insistent on their demands. Their revolt, expressed with tears streaming down their faces, has reached its climax."

Students Continue Protest

LD2302154589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—The number of students of Albanian nationality who are protesting in the "25 May" sports hall in Pristina is increasing each moment. At about 1500 there were over 7,000 of them. In addition to those in the hall who are continuing with their meeting, several hundred young people have gathered outside the hall near the student halls of residence. Neither Nazmi Mustafa, President of the Kosovo Assembly Executive Council, who conveyed to the students the stance of the Trepca miners that they should return to their studies, nor the assurances by Professor Suri Popovci that the province and the Albanian people have nothing to lose from the changes to the Serbian Constitution, were successful. Mustafa and Popovci were jeered at and the meetings were continued by additional speakers, who are constantly heating up the atmosphere.

Serbian Assembly Debates Crisis, Constitution

Finalizes Amendments

LD2302120389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session the Commission for Constitutional Questions of the Serbian Assembly established the final text of the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Serbian Socialist Republic. The proposal of Kosovo representatives was accepted. This stated that the debate on Amendment 47, which envisions the way in which changes are made to the republic's Constitution, be continued in this province pending the adoption of a final stance at the session of the provincial assembly.

Almost without discussion, changes were accepted to the text of the amendments, according to which the occasions on which the Cyrillic script is in official and public use are specified in the republican law, and changes to the amendments specify that the provincial Constitution, in keeping with the republican Constitution, establishes the languages of the nationalities in official and public use in the territory of the province, and that here the province has an obligation to ensure the equality of the languages and scripts of the nationalities with those of the Serbo-Croatian language.

Amendment 29 empowers the Serbian Assembly—when, on the basis of the view of the republican constitutional court, it establishes that individual provisions of the provincial Constitution are in contrast to those of the Republican Constitution—to inform the Provincial Assembly. If, within 1 year, the highest legislative and judicial body of the province does not remove this contradiction, the provisions of the provincial Constiution will not be able to be applied.

According to the final text of Amendment 47, the Serbian Assembly decides on the changes to the Constitution of the Serbian Socialist Republic. Changes cannot alter the position, rights, and duties of the province as set out in the federal Constitution. Before decisions are made on a proposal to change the Constitution, the provincial assemblies should give their views. If it does not approve their view, the provincial assemblies may request to the republican assebly that a decision on this proposal be postponed for up to 6 months. After this, a decision can be made on the proposal in the Serbian

Assembly if the provincial assembly has not requested that a referendum be held on this important issue. A decision is valid if more than one-half of the voters in the republic vote for it. It is also proposed that in the event of changes in the republican Constitution not being approved, the proposal for the launching of procedure may be repeated within 1 year. [passage omitted]

Defends Constitution

LD2302214389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session the delegates of the Serbian Assembly sent an appeal to the citizens of Albanian nationality in Kosovo, calling on them to turn together toward creative work and the development of brotherhood and unity to find a more rapid way out of the profound political and economic crisis. The motive for this appeal is the latest attempts by Albanian nationalists and separatists to oppose the adoption of the Constitution of Serbia and thus endanger the stability of Tito's Yugoslavia.

The appeal stresses that changes to the Constitution of the republic do not threaten anyone, and on the contrary, ensure equal rights and freedoms to all the nations and nationalities in the republic because they do not impinge upon basic principles, while they guarantee the provinces' rights of autonomy. All the rest is a lie being sown by the enemies of our country, who are in fact working against the interests of the Albanian people itself, it is stressed in the appeal by delegates of the Serbian Assembly to the citizens of Albanian nationality in Kosovo.

Adopts Amendments

LD2302151789 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] At its session of all thre chambers, the Serbian Assembly adopted the amendments to the republican Constitution. The amendments were passed on to the assemblies of Vojvodina and Kosovo to obtain their endorsement. This was a successful conclusion to a very important task which has gone on for 1 and ½ years. The demand on which some delegates from Kosovo insisted—that the adoption of the controversial 47th amendment be postponed until the second stage of constitutional changes—was not accepted.

Press Reaction to Kosovo Situation Noted

LD2302173189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1528 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav press commentaries on the situation in the troubled province of Kosovo today range from calls for a categoric rejection of both the demands and methods of strikers in Kosovo to warnings that the steadily deteriorating situation in the southern province could hamper the inauguration of a radical economic reform when the new federal government of Ante Markovic takes over.

Several thousand miners and industrial workers in Kosovo have been striking for the past four days in an attempt to prevent a revision of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, under which Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest federal unit, is to be made equal with the other five republics in terms of state powers. The Autonomous Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, both of which are part of Serbia, have so far had powers nearly equal to those of the republics.

The Albanian language daily RILINDJA, published in Kosovo's capital of Pristina, today warned that the work stoppages in fact "suit only Albanian and all other nationalists and all those who want to undermine and weaken the province and the country."

In a sharper tone, the daily OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo, capital of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, qualified the outright rejection of the draft amendments to Serbia's Constitution by the miners and other strikers in Kosovo as "direct resistance to the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its highest bodies and to the positions of the Presidency of the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia."

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA holds that a number of ethnic Albanian workers in Kosovo are "manipulated by certain responsible managers of certain collectives who themselves are abused by certain officials responsible for the failure to implement the decisions made by the country's topmost party organs. All this is being fuelled not only by the political buraucracy but also by the intellectual bureaucracy in Kosovo."

POLITIKA cautions that the Kosovo situation is becoming increasingly dangerous "because it threatens with inter-nationality conflicts. This is at the same time a direct pressure on moving the Serbs and Montenegrins out of Kosovo."

Yugoslavia's most underdeveloped and most densely populated part otherwise is inhabited by about 1.9 million people, 80 percent of whom ethnic Albanians. Serbs and Montenegrins in large numbers have been migrating from the province especially since the 1981 counter-revolutionary events when separatists came out with their demand "Kosovo—A Republic."

In a commentary which differs from its earlier articles, the Ljubljana DELO newspaper warns that every anti-Albanian hunt should be stopped, that the Albanians are entitled to defend the 1974 Constitution which regulates the relations between the republic and its provinces, and that the same rules must hold for the Albanians as well as for the other nations and nationalities in the country. Also, at long last those officials must begin to enter talks with Albanians who had spoken about them most, that is the presidents of the League of Communists (LC) of Yugoslavia and of Serbia, Stipe Suvar and Slobodan Milosevic, DELO writes.

The same paper warns that the emergence of what may be termed "The Kosovo Complex"—according to which the settlement of most things throughout the country and especially in Serbia would depend on a stabilization of conditions in the province—must not be allowed.

The VJESNIK of Zagreb maintains that what is taking place in Kosovo now "has had to happen" after a series of meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins in the past few months which resulted in the toppling of the leaderships in the northern province Vojvodina and in Yugoslavia's smallest republic Montenegro. Now the Albanians are toppling "their leaderships...because nothing had in the past happened to anybody because of the same thing," VJESNIK says and concludes that this could be an additional burden for the future cabinet of Ante Markovic.

RILINDJA Commentary Criticizes Strikes

LD2302134489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1026 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Regardless of their motives, the work stoppages which started in Stari Trg on Monday and which have since gripped many other collectives in the province make, objectively speaking, the situation in Kosovo even more difficult, RILINDJA of Pristina states in its commentary today under the headline "Time for Common Sense."

The character and the principles of our revolution—national equality, intranational trust, the brotherhood and unity—will not be realized through single-nationality gatherings, the Pristina daily says. They only serve as grist to the mill of Albanian nationalists, above all, but also to other nationalists and all those intent on undermining and and weakening both the province and the country.

The situation is genuinely difficult. Those whose task it is not to allow the situation to reach the level at which socialist values and the country's future are threatened must work more seriously, and with more sobriety than even before to persuade people to resume work for the benefit of the country's common interests, its existence and perspective, RILINDJA says, inter alia, in its front-page commentary.

Ethnic Albanian Separatists Sentenced

LD2302160489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1339 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—Eleven ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists, members of the "Marxist-Leninist Movement of Kosovo," were sentenced in the provincial capital of Pristina today to terms ranging between four months and five years.

One defendant, who is underage, was given two years in a juvenile prison, and another is in hiding.

Nine defendants were sentenced for associating in order to engage in hostile activities, and one each for hostile propaganda and failing to report preparations for a criminal act.

Last September the defendants distributed leaflets in Kosovo calling on ethnic Albanians from all over the country to unite and rise up in arms.

The defendants admitted that the aim of their group, set up in December 1987, was to make Kosovo a republic, separate it from Yugoslavia, and annex it to Albania.

Eight of them have already been sentenced for hostile activity.

Objections Against FRG Visa Policy Continues

Loncar Comments on Relations

AU2302153389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] The topic that drew the most attention at a regular press conference at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs was the possibility of the FRG introducing visas for Yugoslavs traveling to the FRG. Here is what Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, said, among other things, to domestic and foreign journalists:

[Begin Loncar recording] We have thoroughly analyzed the consequences that the introduction of visas would cause. This would in many ways hinder the otherwise highly developed cooperation between the FRG and Yugoslavia, especially now, when our economic reform demands us to increasingly intensify our relations with the rest of the world on the basis of liberalization, at a time when this reform cannot in fact be implemented without this part, that is to say, relations with the world.

This is happening at a time when we need more support and understanding, when we need to seek new more efficient ways of comprehensive cooperation between us and the rest of the world, and especially between us and the EC, or, to be even more precise, between us and our number one partner in the West, the FRG.

This is taking place at the time when we are openly saying that relations between Yugoslavia and the FRG are extremely good, that these relations went through a difficult period, but that today they serve as an example of stability, comprehensiveness, and friendship in which widespread and intensive human contacts have a special place.

My visit to Bonn would not be with the purpose of putting any pressure on them, asking that they change their view, but would be with a purpose of defending joint interests. It would be with the purpose of analyzing what the introduction of visas has achieved, and where it could lead us to. [end recording]

Dragovic Opposes Retaliation

LD2302221189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1805 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany were among the biggest advocates of complete freedom of movement of people at international conferences, but the West German announcement on "The introduction of visas for Yugoslavs is contrary to such a policy," Yugoslav Ambassador in Bonn Dr Milan Dragovic told a news conference today.

Pointing out that the freedom of movement and communication is a "valuable civilisation achievement," Dragovic said that all Yugoslav citizens have the right to a passport and free movement. He recalled that in accordance with this stand, Yugoslavia has abolished visas for 80 countries at its own initiative. Ambassador Dragovic stressed that Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany maintain well-developed economic cooperation (their 1988 trade amounted to 12 billion DM), and added that some three million West German citizens visit Yugoslavia each year, while about as many Yugoslavs visit the Federal Republic of Germany.

Over 600,000 Yugoslavs live in the FR Germany. According to their hosts, they are "dilligent and disciplined workers." Underlining that Yugoslavia today, in the period of crisis and reforms, more than ever has a need for understanding and support from its foreign friends and partners, Dragovic said that the "Yugoslav public views the introduction of visas as West Europe's distancing from Yugoslavia."

Dragovic added taht the visas will affect all forms of bilateral relations, whose intensity cannot be preserved without free communication.

He said that 16 Yugoslav citizens were granted asylum in West Germany in 1987, compared to 19 last year, which confirms that [word indistinct], not political, motives take an increasing number of Yugoslavs to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Expressing doubt that the introduction of visas would have the desired effect, Dragovic stressed that Yugoslavia has no intention of making it more difficult or impossible for its citizens to travel abroad, but that it has legal possibilities of intensifying control over its citizens who violate its dignity abroad.

Noting that one of the possible solutions would be for West German authorities to cut down the necessary time for processing each asylum application, Ambassador Dragovic underlined the importance of joint action of the two countries' authorities in uncovering and preventing the work of illegal organizations which bring asylum seekers to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Answering a question whether Yugoslavia plans retaliatory measures, Dragovic said that although demands for such measures are increasingly being heard in the Yugoslav public, he personally "will not propose to the government the introduction of visas for West German citizens," since such measures bring political damage, without securing the desired effects.

Dolanc, USSR's Lukyanov Hold Talks in Tokyo

LD2302114489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0828 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Tokyo, 23 Feb 89 (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidium Vice President Stane Dolanc, who will attend the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito tomorrow, met the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Anatoliy Lukyanov, in Tokyo today.

Opinions on the international situation, particularly on the forthcoming nonaligned summit in Belgrade, were exchanged in the course of lengthy, friendly talks. A further successful development of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USSR was particularly considered.

An emphasis was put on the interest in further developing bilateral economic relations, as well as on the need to resolve the existing problem of the imbalance in the trade exchange. Information on internal developments in Yugoslavia and the USSR was also exchanged.

New Slovene Alliances Preparing for Elections

AU1902192789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Relja Atanasijevic commentary]

[Text] The events on the Slovene political and pluralistic scene look very much like a 3-year old play in 3 acts. Here is a commentary by Relja Atanasijevic:

The first act is more or less over. The Slovene Peasant Alliance, the Slovene Democratic Alliance, and the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance were founded without any trouble, and almost at once. Their programs are not essentially different and their aim is the same: a parliamentary democracy of a multiparty type.

Now it is time for the second act. According to the envisaged scenario, action in this act should proceed in two or three directions. The first implies turning the new pluralistic political organizations into mass organizations. At present they have a membership of 500 to 1,000 members. Every beginning is modest, but ambitions are not.

At next year's election the new alliances intend to win as big a share of the power cake as possible. This is where the plot thickens. Legal opportunities for the independent promotion of their own candidates do not exist and therefore, in order to work, these alliances do not have any choice but to become a part of the Socialist Alliance.

Since they do not think that they can achieve more noticeable election results under the joint umbrella, the new political alliances are looking for indirect solutions. They have two particular solutions in mind. The first was offered to them by the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia, which also favors parliamentary democracy. It invited them to enter the election as a coalition with a joint list of candidates, and promised that it would extend support to their candidates.

The Social Democrats, as their leader France Tomsic told me, also intend to fight for power through local communes. In local communes they can propose their people and like-minded people as candidates for delegates in communal assemblies. At the beginning, he said, it is important to win positions among the grassroots and in communes, and from there proceed upward. Of course, this strategy will have to be followed by intensified propaganda.

The elections that are supposed to take place next spring are the third act. It would be unwise to forecast the denouement. According to some predictions, the new political alliances in Slovenia could win a modest share of the power cake unless there are some surprises. It is interesting that the representatives of the three Slovene political alliances are convinced that at the election due to be held in 4 years, they will represent a serious force able to change, through a multiparty and assembly system, our political, social, and economic system to suit its own interests.

Democratic Alliance Alleges Police Pressure

AU2102090189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Feb 89 p 14

[V. Simonovic report: "Statement Signed Under Pressure"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Feb—After last night's founding assembly of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance [SSDA] one thing is still unclear: whether this alliance will operate under the auspices of the SAWP or not. However, it is claimed that, "following the declaration of the Ljubljana Secretariat for Internal Affairs 2 days prior to the session that it will ban the founding session of the SSDA only because it intends to operate outside the SAWP," the coordinating body of the initiating council of this alliance issued a statement: "The SSDA will work under the auspices the SAWP, but we demand a guarantee that we will remain an autonomous organization, an organization that has the same status as other sociopolitical organizations in the SAWP."

At the press conference held in the Cankar Hall in Ljubljana today, the members of the Presidium of the SSDA stated that they did not join the SAWP and that the statement issued last night was signed under pressure in order to hold the founding assembly. They also thought that this statement does not contradict their program, in which it is stated that the organization will be an autonomous political organization, a party which will work outside the SAWP as long as the LC enjoys a privileged position in it.

Katja Boh pointed out that the SSDA's affiliation with the front organization is conditioned by changes in some provisions and the Statue of the SAWP, which demand that the programs of all organizations be in accordance with the LC program. The final decision as to whether the SAWP will work within the SAWP or not will be made by the alliance's leadership after an agreement is reached with the Slovene Socialist Alliance. Slavko Susec, member of the Presidium of this alliance, was more precise: "The statement was forced and does not mean anything to me."

One of the questions raised by journalists was whether the SSDA will cooperate with the LC. France Tomsic said that up to now the LC has been a monopolistic party, and stressed that the SSDA wanted to take what belongs to the LC. He was complemented by Jasa Zlobec, who said that if the LC recognized the democratic rules of the game and political pluralism, he did not see any reason not to cooperate. Uros Sutstaric stressed that the foreign journalists who attended the press conference were in the majority and that they were interested in a conflict situation. He also said:

"We are not Poland; this is Slovenia and Yugoslavia. The LC of Slovenia is undergoing transformation and has many things in common with us. If the Communists have a good program we will support it, and if our program is good they will support it as well."

Of course, foreign journalists were interested in the comment of the SSDA leadership on the statement made by a leading official of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] of the FRG, Horst Ehmke, who said that his party does not intend to export social democracy and unconditionally support all political groups in East Europe which call themselves social democratic parties. Tomsic replied to this question by saying that this statement represented opportunism in the SPD, and that this was bad for the development of social democracy and for the SPD itself.

Journalists were also interested in whether any of the SPD representatives attended the founding meeting, since in his interview for an FRG paper, France Tomsic expressed hope that the FRG and Austrian social democratic parties would send delegates to the founding congress of his organization.

In the end it turned out that these parties did not send official representatives to the founding assembly of the Slovene Social Democrats. Answering the question of whether this alliance is exclusively a Slovene party, Katja Boh replied that this was a Slovene alliance, but that it will support every similar initiative in other parts of Yugoslavia. Zlobec elaborated by saying that Dobroslav

Paraga is a member of the council of this alliance, and that all citizens of Slovenia, regardless of their nationality, could be members of the alliance. Susec said that there are already some members from other republics (from Zagreb, Belgrade, Skopje).

At the press conference the SSDA leadership stressed that the founding assembly held last night was attended by some 2,000 people (the Cankar Hall can accommodate 1,600 people and not all seats were occupied), and that the alliance was joined by 650 members before and 220 members after midnight. The answer to the question of how many people took part in the vote last night reveals, however, a different picture. Out of all the people present, only about 330 people voted. The alliance's leadership justified such a small number of voters with negative propaganda and a campaign that was launched against their founding meeting. They also claimed that their campaign posters were taken off the buildings in Ljubljana.

Human Rights Committee 'Suspicious' of Trials

AU2102172989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 89 p 6

[S.Z. report: "Suspicion in the Objectivity of Ljubljana Military Court"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Feb—While the Slovene Assembly is preparing the stances and conclusions on the trial of the four [Janez Jansa, David Tasic, Ivan Borstner, and France Zavrl] in the Ljubljana Military Court (journalists were invited to attend a talk prior to the session which is due to take place on Wednesday in order to acquaint themselves with possibilities of reporting on the findings of a special working group), the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights is presenting its views on a new trial in the Military Court that has not even taken place yet. This committee is suspicious of the objectivity of the military court in advance, and has therefore appealed to the media to carefully follow the proceedings in the case of Roman Ljeljak, former security officer in the Yugoslav People's Army, which will be held in Ljubljana on Monday, 20 February.

In its public statement, the committee claims that in view of the practice of the military security service and the investigation organs of the Ljubljana Military Court up to this point, "there is a well-founded suspicion that the court proceedings against Roman Ljeljak will be affected by his past cooperation with the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights as well as his statements to the press regarding the trial of the four."

Another reason for suspicion, the statement stresses, is the fact that Ljeljak was unlawfully detained in May of 1988 only a few days after the arrival in Ljubljana of a group of security officers of the Yugoslav People's Army, who conducted the proceedings against the four. Similarly, he was released from prison several days after Borstner, Jansa, and Tasic were released.

The Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, in advance, took the liberty to publicly express suspicion in the objectivity of the military court, without taking into account the fact that this kind of attitude could also be regarded as unobjective and unacceptable. Is there not a basic suspicion that the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights is trying in this way to prejudge the decision of the Military Court and influence the course of the court proceedings and main hearing—something that is unacceptable in both the civil and military judiciary.

Presidency Denies Ban on Javanka Broz Interview

AU2002171089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Feb 89 p 14

[TANJUG report: "Dolanc Did Not Prevent the Publishing of Interview With Jovanka Broz"]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb—Following the series of newspaper interviews with Jovanka Broz, some newspapers claim that the interview with her is being published only now, 3 years after it was given, because Stane Dolanc allegedly prevented the publishing of this interview.

The SFRY Presidency's Press and Information Bureau was authorized to inform the public that this assertion is totally incorrect, that is invented and malicious. This information was contained in a statement issued by the SFRY Presidency's Press and Information Bureau.

Bosnian Presidency Discusses Security Issues

LD2002211989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1826 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Feb (TANJUG)—The internal enemy, for the purpose of attacking the constitutional system, is rallying on a nationalist platform and operating together with the aim of dividing people on a national basis, and is being aided and abetted in this by reactionary circles from this country and abroad.

This was said at today's session of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which considered current questions of the sociopolitical and security situation in this republic. In this, all forms of special warfare are being applied, the communique from this session says.

The Presidency pointed out the need for enhanced activity by other subjects of the system of social self-protection in order to block the attacks on the political system of socialist self-management.

Montenegrin Defense Official Killed in Titograd

LD2202143489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1229 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Titograd, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—Assistant Defence Secretary of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, Col. Vojislav Scepanovic, was killed last night in the republican capital Titograd, it was announced here on Wednesday.

Scepanovic was killed by Zoran Dajkovic, worker in the municipal secretariat of international affairs.

The motives of the crime, which took place in the building of the republican defence secretariat, are unknown, the announcement said.

Dajkovic was arrested and handed to the investagative magistrate of the district court in Titograd.

Attack on Journalist in Titograd Investigated

LD2302102689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Titograd, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—Milovan Brkic, journalist from Belgrade, was physically attacked on two occasions in Titograd yesterday. First, the security service worker, Ratko Micunovic, attacked him in the republican secretariat for internal affairs building. Later he was again attacked by a group of yet unidentified individuals.

In an official statement today by the republican secretariat for internal affairs, it is reported that the incident occurred at 1050 in the secretariat building, in front of the reception office. At that time, Brkic was supposed to be received by Deputy Secretary Husnija Redzepagic. While the policeman on duty was issuing Brkic internal identification, the state security service worker, Ratko Micunovic, came and physically attacked him for an alleged verbal provocation. The policeman on duty intervened immediately, took Brkic from the reception room, and drove Micunovic out of the office.

Afterward, in the talk with Deputy Secretary Redzepagic, Brkic acquainted this top official of the republican secretariat for internal affairs with the incident and submitted a report against Micunovic with the Titograd Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

The republican secretariat for internal affairs statement notes that the secretariat has undertaken the appropriate measures to fully investigate the incident. It has also initiated the proceedings to establish legal, disciplinary, and other responsibilities of Micunovic. In addition, he has already been suspended from his job.

Journalist Brkic has lately written in NON [the magazine of Serbian youth organization] about the work and behavior of some individuals in the State Security Service of Montenegro. His article has been published in the paper of the Youth of Serbia under the headline of "Security Men Have Secured Themselves" [the headline is a wordplay—it also means the security men have profited], and mentions Ratko Micunovic. In Titograd this is supposed to be the cause of this regrettable incident; nevertheless, one should wait until the competent organs announce the facts.

Brkic was attacked for the second time yesterday at 1130 GMT in the hall of the OMLADINSKI POKRET magazine's building in Novak Milosev Street. In the statement of the republican secretariat for internal affairs it is stated that he was attacked by a number of unidentified individuals and that he was kept for treatment in the medical center. The service is working intensively to make this case clear and to find the perpetrators and the motives of this violent act.

500 Imams Demand Replacement of Islamic Leader

LD1502101489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 14 (TANJUG)—Five hundred imams in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today demanded the replacement of the supreme head of the Islamic community in Yugoslavia, Husein Mujic, Reis-ul-Ulema Effendi [name as received], and a number of other Islamic dignitaries, changes in the supreme acts of the community and its greater democratization.

The religious leader has been given until March 20 to give his final reply to these demands.

A gathering at the Islamic Theology Faculty in Sarajevo, at which the demand was made, was held outside the legal organs of the community and contrary to the stand of its supreme leadership. Faced with growingly frequent protests and demands for changes, the leadership of the Islamic community has recently banned all gatherings of imams and formed a special commission to investigate the situation in the community and analyse each individual request made by the clergy.

Gatherings of imams dissatisfied with the situation in the Islamic religious community have been going on since November in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Yugoslav republic with the largest Muslim religious community. Their demands for changing the situation and relations within the community and for replacing individual dignitaries have been discussed by the Islamic supreme leadership on several occasions, but without result.

Disagreements between the clergy and the leadership have not been ironed out even after an eleven-hour dialogue between the imams and the supreme head, held in Sarajevo on January 28. The imams feel particularly offended by attempts to show their protest as being motivated by careerism and social dissatisfaction. According to them, the roots of their dissatisfaction lie much deeper.

Youth Commission Discusses Foreign Policy

AU1802202789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 89 p 6

[J. Glisic report: "United Toward Neighbors"]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Feb—The youth organization must change its position as a vehicle of the state and the party in all areas, even in the field of creating and implementing Yugoslav foreign policy, to which it has until now generally given its unconditional support. This policy is still being conducted as if we were still in the "cold war" era; it is failing to keep up with the quick changes in relations in the world, and still has no united concept on relations with neighboring countries. This was said today at the meeting of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation Commission for International Relations and Cooperation, which also discussed Yugoslav-Albanian and Yugoslav-Greek relations.

"Albania is not what it was nor what young people in our country think it is," stressed Sladjana Prica. Last year we attempted, as we have done until now, to invite young Albanian people to the third meeting of Balkan youth, and for the first time the invitation was not returned to us unopened. Despite all the prejudices, this must be seen as a great step.

Drawing attention to Albania's information-propaganda activity, Hodza Redzep said that regardless of tactical and pragmatic changes, it is continuing its long-term attitude toward Yugoslavia. The ideological messages have become more developed and flexible, but the accusations that we provoke anti-Albanian hysteria and attacks on the leadership of Serbia are becoming more frequent. Radio Tirana only transmits news about price rises, inflation, and unemployment and it is helped by the division in the Yugoslav information arena. At the same time, there is no clear contra-propaganda activity on our side, particularly concerning the alleged persecution of Albanians in Yugoslavia.

It was concluded at today's meeting that the doctrine of Yugoslavia's foreign policy must be examined right away and, prior to this, the Socialist Youth Federation will persistently strive to establish contact with representatives of the youth in the Albanian party and to organize a youth "summit" meeting by the end of the year. A demand will be sent to Radio Television Yugoslavia that it build receivers in Kosovo as soon as possible, which will make possible the reception of programs from all radio and television stations.

"The method of solving all problems "with goodwill" is only possible with reciprocity and mutual respect, but these do not exist in relations with Greece," stressed Sasa Georgijski in the discussion on the problems of the Macedonian minority and especially students in Greece. The negative effects of an impotent policy which is based on declarative principles weaken the standing of Yugoslavia in international relations, but even has a retroactive effect on the domestic scene.

The Yugoslav youth leadership fully supports the peaceful demonstrations by students in Skopje, as well as the declaration which arose after them. A delegation of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation must also attend the conference of European students in Sweden at the end of the year and present the problem of Macedonian students in Greece there.

Knin Radio Station Closes After 17 Years

AU2002205989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 89 p 9

[P.S. report: "Radio Knin Is Silent"]

[Text] Knin, 17 Feb—After 17 years of work, Radio Knin, the only public media of the commune, has stopped transmitting its programs. The reason is its worn-out equipment. This contributed to the increasingly poor reception in the commune, especially after a block of apartments was built in the vicinity of the station's antenna. Sociopolitical organizations and other relevant organs in Knin were told about it, but have unfortunately shown little understanding for the difficulties of this popular radio station.